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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
CAREY, MARSHMAN, AND WARD.

VOL. I.

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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
CAREY, MARSHMAN, AND WARD.
EMBRACING THE
HISTORY OF THE SERAMPORE MISSION.

BY
JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS.

1859

PREFACE.



IN the course of this work it has been requisite to impugn the assertion made by the opponents of missions to India in 1793 and 1808, that any attempt to convert the Hindoos would result in insurrection and massacre. Those morbid apprehensions, the offspring of prejudice and timidity, have been treated with the contempt they appeared to merit: but while the work has been passing through the press an unparalleled tragedy has been exhibited in India; a hundred thousand sepoys have appeared in open revolt, and endeavoured to subvert our dominion and to extirpate our race; and this insurrection is stated by them to have been provoked by our attempts to tamper with their caste and religion. The fearful events of the last eighteen months would thus appear to substantiate those gloomy prognostications, and to countenance the doctrine that any attempt to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives must be attended with imminent peril, and that if we would maintain our empire in the east, we must leave them for ever under the dominion of their superstitions. It is necessary, therefore, that the question of the mutiny and its motives should be dispassionately investigated. It is important to the interests of the conquerors that the real cause of this tragic event should be clearly ascertained, that we may be enabled to guard against the recurrence of it; it is equally important to the welfare of the natives that it should not be attri-

buted to the wrong cause, that the prospects of their improvement may not be injured. The former investigation may be left to the politician; the latter belongs more especially to the philanthropist.

That the mutiny was not in any measure occasioned by the labours of the missionaries there is the most conclusive evidence. During the revolt diverse manifestos were promulgated by the insurrectionary chiefs, with the view of inflaming the minds of the people, by an exposition of the grievances to which they were subject under the dominion of the *Feringees*. But in this catalogue of grievances, some of which were merely plausible and others purely imaginary, there was not the most remote allusion to the exertions of the missionaries, and it is manifest that if their labours had been regarded as a popular grievance, which could be turned to account, they would not have been overlooked. But in addition to this negative evidence there is the positive testimony of large and influential bodies of natives who have, of their own accord, come forward and asserted that the endeavours of the missionaries were in no respect connected with the revolt; that their blameless life, their disinterested and benevolent exertions, and their sympathy with the feelings and the griefs of the people, had secured them the respect and admiration even of those whose creed they were endeavouring to subvert. An opinion has been disseminated in England that the government in India has of late years changed its policy, and given encouragement to the missionary cause; and this is said to have created a feeling of alarm among the natives and disposed them to rebellion. But so far from giving any support to the missionaries, government has omitted no opportunity of disavowing all connection with them. In one of the last proclamations, issued a short time before the mutiny, the natives were informed that the missionaries were only labouring in their vocation, and that government had nothing whatever to do with them. The language of that proclamation was calculated to bring

them into contempt with the native community, and they had some reason to complain of such unprovoked contumely. About the same time an Act was passed prohibiting the publication of obscene books and pictures in India, but a clause was inserted, especially exempting from the operation of the Act every "representation, sculptured, engraved, or painted on or in any temple, or on any car used for the conveyance of idols." With what colour of truth can it then be affirmed, that there has been any change in the policy of government, either as it regards discouraging missionary efforts, or deferring to the popular idolatry?

But it may be affirmed with perfect confidence, that even if the missionaries had received the most open and direct support from the state, and if government had laboured to propagate Christianity by a system of rewards and penalties, there would have been little reason to dread a mutiny, or even an insurrection. Although a contrary opinion be prevalent in England, it has been adopted without investigation, and is contrary to all historical teaching in India. This assertion may at first appear paradoxical, but it is based on truth, and it is fully substantiated by the opinion of the late Sir William Macnaghten, the envoy at Cabul, one of the ablest public men of his day, who, moreover, was never charged with any undue partiality for missionary labours. He was required to give his opinion on the question whether suttees could be abolished consistently with the safety of our dominion. Admitting the sacrifice of suttee to be a religious act of the highest possible merit according to the notions of the Hindoos, "where," he inquires, "is danger to be apprehended from the abolition of it? Look to the genius of the people and their past history; under their Moosulman rulers they tamely endured all sorts of insults to their religion and violation of their prejudices. We have no record of any general or organised disaffection. We read that their temples were polluted and destroyed and that many of them were compelled to become converts to the creed of

their oppressors. Neither tyranny nor endurance could well go further than this." Yet the Mahomedans never lost a province or a town in consequence of this bigoted and oppressive course. Nor is there any reason to suppose that if we had pursued the same policy — which we have justly and equitably abstained from doing — the result would have been of a different character.

It has been affirmed, however, that the minds of men have been unsettled and disposed to revolt by some of the more recent movements of government. But as these are all measures of improvement, introduced by a civilised and enlightened government among a semibarbarous community, it is necessary to examine with the greatest attention how far they can have contributed to the mutiny. The rapid increase of native schools is adduced as one of these perilous measures. But indigenous schools are among the most ancient and venerable institutions of the country, though they may in some cases have fallen into abeyance; it is difficult then to suppose that the effort to reanimate and improve them, without any attempt or appearance of an attempt at proselytism, can have excited the people to insurrection. If some little disquietude may have been felt from the novelty of the thing, the feeling would gradually have subsided. Far greater excitement has heretofore arisen, from deeper causes, which time had effectually removed, and it is certain that if there had been no military mutiny, excited by the fatal folly of the greased cartridges, there would have been no civil revolt on account of the schools. The second cause to which the mutiny has been attributed is the law which allows a convert to retain his patrimony on changing his creed. But in the seat of the mutiny, in the north-west provinces, in Bundekund, and in Central India no case has arisen in which it has been necessary to have recourse to this law, and it is questionable whether one man in ten thousand ever heard of its existencé. It never came palpably before the people; it was not a practical or even a plausible grievance.

The intolerant law of Hindoo inheritance had, moreover, been in complete abeyance for seven centuries during the Mahomedan governments. The conversions to the creed of the prophet among the higher classes under those proselytising rulers were far more numerous than under our dynasty; and, as no Hindoo was ever allowed to occupy the bench, it is certain that no Mahomedan judge would have stripped a convert to his own religion of all his ancestral property. We have, in fact, only done that from principle which the Mahomedans did from fanaticism; we have only abrogated a law which had fallen into desuetude for seven centuries, and which we had inadvertently and unintentionally revived. The attempt to connect the mutiny with the renewed abrogation of this law is not only gratuitous but absurd. The same may be said of the more recent enactment which permits the marriage of Hindoo widows. It has never come into operation in the disaffected provinces; and in Bengal, not more than six widows have availed themselves of it. Neither was this a palpable or practical grievance; indeed it requires no ordinary power of invention to convert it into a grievance. In Sir George Clerk's minute of the 29th of March, 1858, a quotation is made from a paper "presented to the Court of Directors by a very intelligent native" — which however comes from the pen of a European — in which it is made matter of complaint that "the regulation touching the remarrying of Hindoo widows has been enforced." But it has never been enforced, for the simple reason that the time has been too short for enforcing it. The law is not compulsory; it is simply permissive. It legalises the marriage of widows by removing from their offspring the stigma and the penalty of bastardy. But is it conceivable that while the abolition of female immolation, one of the most cherished rites of Hindooism, created no revolt, the simple permission granted to widows to enter the marriage state has so inflamed the public mind as to lead to this desolating insurrection?

Supposing, but not admitting, that these measures did unsettle the minds of the natives and dispose them to revolt, they are still measures of improvement indispensable to the welfare and progress of the natives of India, and we have little right to retain possession of their country if we are not prepared to embrace such measures within the scope of our policy. It is a duty from which we cannot flinch, gradually and prudently to introduce such ameliorations in the principles and practices of the natives as shall raise them up to our own high standard of excellence: we cannot keep down our institutions perpetually to the level of their debased condition. We must establish a government sufficiently powerful to protect the progress of improvement, or retire from the country. We cannot revive the obsolete policy of half a century ago, and determine to keep the people in ignorance that we may keep them in subjection. In the face of the civilised world, England cannot consent to hold India on the condition of discountenancing education, and circumscribing liberty of conscience by stripping a convert of his patrimony, and consigning every widow to a state of perpetual widowhood.

The magnitude of the unexpected calamity of 1857 has naturally disturbed the minds of men at home, and led to the advocacy of measures of very doubtful policy. In the first moments of a panic the most violent counsels are generally considered the most expedient. Hence we have the extreme section of the religious world attributing the mutiny to the too great respect which has been shown to the idolatrous prejudices of the natives, and recommending the destruction of caste, the prohibition of all superstitious practices, and the propagation of Christianity by the influence of government.

On the other hand we have the president and secretary of the late Board of Control, tracing the mutiny, in the despatch sent to India on the 29th of March last, to the too little regard which has of late been paid to the religious

prejudices of the people, and more especially to the rapid impulse given to "educational schemes," and advocating measures which would lead to the interruption of all progress, if not to the extinction of education. India, however, is not to be governed by the favourite partialities or prejudices of either of these parties: we must discover some middle course, equally removed from the extreme views of both, if we would combine the consolidation of the empire, with the elevation of its inhabitants.

It is equally contrary to all sound policy and to the interests of Christian truth, that Christianity should be propagated in India by the direct instrumentality, or the indirect aid, of Government. From every attempt to evangelise the country, it is the bounden duty of Government most conscientiously and most scrupulously to abstain. The spread of the Gospel is the exclusive province of the missionary, and he must not appear as the delegate of the state. Dr. Carey's remark when the subject was once introduced, should ever be held in remembrance. "Whatever government may do, let it not touch my work; it can only succeed in making men hypocrites: I wish to make them Christians." At the same time it would be unworthy of a great, powerful, and enlightened government to shrink, as the government of India has hitherto done, from avowing its Christian character. It is to be lamented that the public authorities in India have been too much disposed to keep their religion in the back-ground, as if they were ashamed or afraid to acknowledge it in the presence of the heathen. This timid policy has not prevented the torrent of an exterminating mutiny, and this of itself furnishes a strong argument for the adoption of a more dignified course. It is a fallacy to suppose that we shall lose the confidence of the natives by the manly avowal of our creed. The Hindoos and Mahomedans are men of such intense religious feeling that they cannot be expected to entertain any respect for those who do not manifest the same strength of attachment to their own religion.

They cannot believe in the existence of religious indifference in a government, and our profession of perfect neutrality has only tended to bring our motives under suspicion, and to complicate our relations with them. The soundest policy is to adopt a just and fearless course; to tell our native subjects that the government of the Crown is a Christian government, and regulated by Christian principles, that, although it believes Christianity to be the only true religion, and desires to see it prevail throughout India, yet, in obedience to its principles, it will employ neither force nor fraud to convert its subjects, but will continue to allow them the fullest liberty of conscience, and to permit every man to profess and practise his own religion without any interference.

With respect to the system of "Grants in Aid" for schools without distinction of creed or caste, however vehemently it may be denounced by the public authorities in India and in England, it is based on the soundest, the safest, and the most equitable principle. It will not be forgotten on this occasion that there is scarcely a measure of Indian improvement, during the last sixty years, which has not encountered the same opposition, and that this opposition has, after all, had its use in establishing the importance as well as necessity of those reforms, and rendering their triumph more signal. The present repudiation of these grants is, therefore, scarcely to be regretted. The system was first established by Sir Charles Wood's memorable despatch of the 19th of July, 1854, which it is now proposed to neutralise, and which provided that grants should be made by Government to schools under private management, for the exclusive object of secular instruction; that the public inspectors, at their periodical visits, should confine their examination to the various branches of secular knowledge, and carefully abstain from any inquiries regarding the character of the religious instruction given in them, which was to be left to the unfettered choice of the parents and masters. The grants were to be bestowed

without any reference to the creed of the grantees, and to be given equally to the Mahomedan mouluvee, the Hindoo pundit, and the Christian missionary. It would be difficult to imagine a more unexceptionable scheme, or one more admirably adapted to the general diffusion of knowledge without compromising Government on the question of religion. It is, also, the only plan by which education can ever be diffused among the people. It is reprobated as a breach of neutrality, but where assistance is offered equally and equitably to all, and the continuance of it depends not on the question of religion but of efficiency, it is difficult to discover any violation of the principle. To deprive the country of all chance of popular education, by abolishing the system, because some portion of the public funds may fall to missionary schools, would be to sacrifice the welfare of the people to the support of a mere doctrine.

The Proclamation issued by the Queen on assuming the government of India, prohibits the interference of the public officers with the belief of the people. The prohibition has reference necessarily to their official character, and the principle embodied in it is judicious and sound. For the last fifty years it has been the rule in India that the functionaries of Government should abstain from using their official influence for the diffusion of Christianity among the natives, and the Proclamation simply incorporates the ancient rule with the new government. At the same time the public servants have always been considered at liberty, in their private and individual capacity, to aid the promotion of Christian truth. The line of distinction was first defined under the government of Lord Minto, and it has been distinctly recognised under every succeeding administration. It was in the year 1808 that the Serampore missionaries had resolved to solicit subscriptions for the translating and printing of the Scriptures in the languages of India, and Dr. Marshman waited on Lord Minto to request his support. He asked time to consider the proposal, and consult his colleagues. At

the next interview he said that if he could possibly step out of himself, and separate his public from his private character, he would at once head the list, but it was considered unadvisable for the head of the Government to appear in such an undertaking. Among his counsellors the most eminent and influential was Mr. Edmonstone, the secretary to Government, but he was not deemed to lie under any such restriction, and put his name down at once for a subscription of thirty pounds. Three years after, the Auxiliary Bible Society was established in Calcutta, and its first meeting was held in the hall of the college of Fort William, a government institution, and a judge of the supreme native court, and a secretary to Government, were respectively appointed president and vice-president of the Society. The government of Lord Minto was distinguished by its opposition to missionary efforts; and, in the year succeeding the establishment of this Society, placed eight missionaries under a sentence of banishment, of whom only one was enabled to remain in the country. Even in that anti-missionary age, and under that anti-missionary government, all the subordinate members of Government were considered at liberty to assist the progress of Christian truth, as private individuals, and it was only the head of the Government, the representative of the Crown, who was deemed to be debarred from taking any share in it. The principle thus established has been ever since considered as the rule and practice in all questions connected with the diffusion of Christianity. Lord William Bentinck systematically abstained from subscribing to any missionary object while Governor-General, and it was not till he had laid down the government that he sent Dr. Marshman fifty pounds to testify his esteem for the labours of the Serampore missionaries, "as soon as he was at liberty to act in his private capacity." In like manner Lord Dalhousie, while his purse was open to every benevolent object, withheld his subscriptions only from those institutions which were

established with the direct object of proselytism. But neither did Lord William Bentinck nor Lord Dalhousie entrench on the long established liberty of every subordinate officer to encourage the spread of Christianity by his subscriptions as a private citizen, while at the same time every exercise of official influence was strictly interdicted. It is evidently in the spirit of this liberality that the terms of the Proclamation have been selected. If at any future period any attempt should be made to abridge this freedom, and a Christian officer in India should be prohibited from taking the same interest in the baptism of a Hindoo convert which a Mahomedan officer is freely allowed to take in the circumcision of a convert to Islamism, it will be the duty of the people and the parliament of England to interpose their authority, and to prevent so invidious and unjustifiable an innovation.

The Author desires to embrace this opportunity of recording his grateful acknowledgments to the Duke of Portland for having given him access to the papers of Lord William Bentinck, relative to the abolition of suttees, and thereby enabling him to present a more circumstantial notice of that great act of humanity than has yet appeared. He has also been laid under the greatest obligations to Lord Glenelg for access to the valuable papers of the late Mr. Charles Grant. To the late President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood, and to the now extinct Court of Directors, he desires thus publicly to acknowledge his gratitude for the liberty they granted him to consult the records of the India House.

JOHN C. MARSHMAN.

KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS,
Jan. 25th, 1859.

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HISTORY

OF

THE SERAMPORE MISSION.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM CAREY, to whose energy and example the Protestant Missions of the nineteenth century owe their origin, was born in the village of Pury, or Paulerspury, in Northamptonshire, on the 17th ^{Parentage of William Carey.} of August, 1761. His grandfather and father were successively the parish clerk and schoolmaster of the village; and he was thus grounded in the rudiments of learning, and received "an education which was generally esteemed good in country villages." The memorials of his youth are very scanty, being derived chiefly from the traditions of his relatives after he had risen to distinction. It was remembered that at the age of six, he worked out sums in arithmetic in his own mind; that after having learned to read, he manifested an avidity for books of science, history, and travels; and that his scientific tastes became prominent at an early age. His room was crowded with the insects he had collected to mark their development, and he endeavoured to acquire a knowledge of drawing to assist these researches. He never

walked out without carefully observing the hedges, and minutely examined the structure of every plant he gathered. During his childhood, it was remarked that whatever he began he completed, and never allowed himself to be checked by difficulties. He took an active share in the juvenile sports of the village, and became a great favourite with the children of his own age by the liveliness of his remarks. Though his manners were rustic and uncouth, his appearance was prepossessing, and the more intelligent of his friends thought they could discern in him the seeds of future promise. At the age of twelve he obtained a copy of "Dyche's Latin Vocabulary," and committed nearly the whole of it to memory, and carefully studied the brief sketch of a grammar prefixed to it. But his parents were indigent, and unable to afford him any assistance in the pursuit of knowledge; and a scorbutic disorder, which his constitution eventually overcame, unfitted him at the time for any labour out of doors. He

He is apprenticed as a shoemaker.

was, therefore, bound apprentice, at the age of fourteen, to Clarke Nichols, a shoemaker at Hackleton.

Although every prospect of intellectual progress was apparently quenched by this event, his thirst for knowledge

continued unabated. In the little collection

His progress in knowledge.

of books in the shoemaker's shop he found a commentary on the New Testament, which was interspersed with Greek words. He was ignorant of the Greek alphabet, but he made a rude delineation of the characters which occurred in his reading. In the village in which his father resided, there lived a journeyman weaver of the name of Tom Jones, who had received a liberal education at Kidderminster, with a view to the medical profession, but, had been constrained, through the unsteadiness of his habits, to seek a livelihood by manual labour. When young Carey could obtain permission to visit his father, he took the Greek words he had copied to Jones, and obtained a translation of them, and was thus

led forward to cultivate the language. His master died about two years after his apprenticeship commenced, and he engaged himself as a journeyman shoemaker to a Mr. Old, who is described as a "worthy and respectable man." The Rev. Thomas Scott, the author of the well-known commentary on the Bible, was in the habit of paying pastoral visits to the family of Mr. Old, and it is recorded that on one of these occasions, "Mr. Old entered the room with a sensible-looking lad, in his working apron. Young Carey's attention was riveted while Mr. Scott addressed the group of rustics, and he exhibited great intelligence. He said little, but occasionally asked appropriate questions with much modesty, which led Mr. Scott to remark to those around him that the youth would prove no ordinary character." At a subsequent period, when Mr. Scott had occasion to pass the old shop where Mr. Carey had been employed in making shoes, he observed to those who were with him "that was Mr. Carey's college;" and seldom has so humble a college turned out so distinguished a graduate.

Mr. Carey was brought up a strict Churchman, as became the son and grandson of the parish clerk, and was in due time confirmed. He had read, as he said, Jeremy Taylor's works and Spinker's ^{His religious exercises of mind.} "Sick Man Visited," and entertained a cordial hatred of all dissent. Soon after his connection with Mr. Old commenced, he was brought under strong religious impressions through the instrumentality of a fellow-servant. He describes his previous course of life as having been very irregular, if not vicious; yet he had been rarely guilty of any open immorality, and his own estimate of his conduct may be in some measure attributed to the humility of his character, and the high standard of excellence which he prescribed for himself. He now began to realise his danger as a sinner and the necessity of conversion, and these convictions led him to a closer examination of the sacred Scriptures. He resolved regularly to attend three church

services during the Sunday, as well as a prayer-meeting at the Dissenting chapel in the week. It was at this period that he appears to have experienced that vital change of heart which laid the foundation of all the Christian excellence of his character. It was chiefly under the ministry of Mr. Scott, the commentator, at Ravenstone, that he made progress in his religious career, and he was in the habit of remarking in after life that if there was "anything of the work of God in him, he was indebted for it to Mr. Scott's ministrations." The dawn of Divine truth on his mind, however, was very gradual. He had imbibed the views of Law, and he remained for a considerable time in a state of distressing perplexity regarding the real doctrines of the Gospel. He could neither receive the dogmas of Law with confidence, nor satisfactorily refute them. But his mind was enlightened and relieved by the perusal of a work which had then recently appeared from the pen of Mr. Hall, entitled "Help to Zion's Travellers," and which is still held in the highest estimation by those who appreciate evangelical truth. He read the treatise with rapture, and there he found "all that he had picked up by scraps arranged and illustrated," and for the first time he felt the ground of his Christian faith firm and stable.

Mr. Carey's first appearance in the pulpit was at the very immature age of eighteen, and he always looked back on the attempt which he then made with feelings of humiliation. He had joined the church formed at the time by a few pious men at Hackleton, and "a sort of conference," he said, "was begun, and he was sometimes invited to deliver his thoughts on a passage of Scripture, which the people, being ignorant, applauded, to my great injury." Some time after, while attending one of the Associations at Olney, at which he was obliged to fast all day, not having the means of purchasing a meal, some friends from Earl's Barton, a neighbouring village, were lamenting their spiritual desti-

Commencement
of his career as a
minister.

tution to Mr. Chater, the Independent minister at Olney. He was well acquainted with Mr. Carey's character, and at once advised them to request his services. They called on him soon after, and he yielded to their solicitation, not from any confidence in his own abilities, but simply from his unwillingness to distress them by a refusal. In that village he preached from Sabbath to Sabbath for three years and a half. The friends in his native village of Pury likewise requested him to allow them the same privilege, and he readily agreed to preach once a month, the distance from Hackleton being ten miles. It was during these ministerial engagements that his views on the subject of baptism became changed, and he imbibed the conviction that baptism by immersion and after a confession of faith was scriptural and apostolic. He was accordingly baptized by Dr. John Ryland, his future associate in the cause of Missions, who stated in a public address at a subsequent period, that "on the 5th of October, 1783, he baptized a poor journeyman shoemaker in the river Nen, a little beyond Dr. Doddridge's chapel in Northampton." Some time after, the little congregation at Barton manifested a desire to be organised as a church, and consulted the Rev. John Sutcliff of Olney. He came down to the village and conversed affectionately with Mr. Carey, and advised him to join some church, and receive a call to the work of the ministry according to the rules and practice of the denomination. Mr. Carey therefore offered himself as a member of the church under Mr. Sutcliff's pastoral care. But when the question of his being called to the ministry came under discussion, no little hesitation was manifested by some of the members, who doubted whether he possessed sufficient ability for a useful minister, and Mr. Sutcliff was obliged to exert all the influence of his position to carry the point. Mr. Carey was at length, however, accepted, and received a call, after delivering a discourse which he describes as having been "as crude and weak as anything could be which is called,

or has been called, a sermon." At the same time, Mr. Sutcliff placed a Latin Grammar in his hands, and advised him to study it assiduously. The circle of his studies was gradually enlarged as he was able to procure the loan of books from his neighbours, and, though pinched with poverty, he yet managed to purchase a few books at the sale of Mr. Ryland, which laid the foundation of his library. Among other methods which he pursued to improve his acquaintance with languages, was that of reading the portion of Scripture which he selected for devotional exercise in the morning, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

Mr. Old died, and Mr. Carey took over his stock and business, and married his sister before he had reached the age of twenty. His marriage and difficulties. This premature marriage was not simply imprudent under existing circumstances, but was highly inauspicious in reference to his future career. His illiterate wife possessed no feelings in unison with his own, and was altogether unsuited to be his companion. Notwithstanding the immense disparity in intellect and attainments between them, Mr. Carey always treated her with the utmost affection, while she manifested no interest in his aspirations for a larger sphere of labour and usefulness. The extreme consideration and tenderness which invariably marked his conduct towards her, place the meekness and magnanimity of his character in the strongest light. After his marriage, he rented a neat little cottage at Hackleton, the chief recommendation of which was the garden attached to it, which he cultivated with great assiduity, and which flourished far more vigorously than his business. Trade became dull, and he was constrained to sell off his stock at a great sacrifice. At the same time he was attacked with fever, which hung on him for eighteen months. While in this enfeebled state, he was frequently obliged to travel from place to place to dispose of his goods to procure bread. The church and congregation at Barton were not able to raise

enough to pay for the clothes worn out in their service. He was reduced, at this period, to the greatest distress, but was rescued from starvation by the affection of a brother, who made over to him whatever he could spare from his own scanty earnings. A small collection was also made for him in his native village of Paulerspury. With this aid he removed for change of air to the village of Piddington, where he selected a cottage with a little garden, which he cultivated early and late. Unhappily, the cottage was situated in a swamp, and the miasma brought on ague and fever, which rendered him prematurely bald.

Mr. Carey, soon after, closed his connection with the congregation at Barton, and on the advice of his friend, Mr. Sutcliff, took charge of a little Dissenting ^{He removes to Moulton.} interest at Moulton; but with that practical good sense which always distinguished his conduct, finding that the church required to be winnowed, he required the members to sign a covenant, strict on all practical points, and not too highly seasoned with doctrinal dogmas. This was at the beginning of 1786, when he had reached the age of twenty-four and a half. He appears to have been attracted to Moulton by the prospect of a good school, which the departure of the former master opened to him. Few men have ever been less fitted by nature for such a profession than Mr. Carey. "When I kept school," as he facetiously remarked in after life, "it was the boys who kept me." He was unable to maintain any control over his pupils, who often took personal liberties with him, totally subversive of all discipline. The old master, however, returned and resumed his occupation. Mr. Carey's school must have decayed without any competition, but it melted away the more rapidly after the arrival of so formidable a rival, till the income which it gave him was reduced to 7*s.* 6*d.* a week. The little Baptist church at Moulton was unable to raise more than 11*l.* a year for his support, to which 5*l.* were added from some fund in London. For a minister this was

simply starvation, and he was obliged, therefore, to fall back on his former trade for a subsistence. "Once in a fortnight," remarks his associate, Mr. Morris, "Carey might be seen walking eight or ten miles to Northampton, with his wallet full of shoes upon his shoulder, and then returning home with a fresh supply of leather to fulfil his engagements with a Government contractor." The testimony borne to his skill in the mystery of a shoemaker by those who knew him, was by no means flattering; and he himself always entertained the humblest opinion of his own abilities in that line. Thirty years after this period, when dining one day at Barrackpore Park, opposite Serampore, with the Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, he overheard one of the guests, a general officer, making inquiry of one of the aides-de-camp, whether Dr. Carey had not once been a shoemaker, on which he stepped forward, and exclaimed, "No, sir! only a cobbler."

Mr. Carey's residence at Moulton, notwithstanding his pecuniary difficulties, was rendered agreeable by opportunities of mental improvement, to which he had hitherto been a stranger. Having a settled ministerial charge and an increasing congregation, to whom he preached four times in the week, he was led to a more regular course of biblical study and a more enlarged cultivation of his natural gifts. He adopted that systematic distribution and that stern economy of time which subsequently enabled him to accomplish labours almost incredible. He also enjoyed the advantage of personal intercourse with the venerable Mr. Hall of Arnsby, whose name is still fragrant in the churches, partly from the excellent treatise already alluded to, but chiefly through the incomparable genius of his son, Robert Hall. Mr. Carey and another friend met regularly at Mr. Hall's house to enjoy the benefit of his conversation, and to profit by his critical remarks on their pulpit exercises. At Moulton he improved his acquaintance with Dr. Ryland; but the most important acquisition he made during

*Course of life at
Moulton.*

his residence in this village was the friendship of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, the Baptist minister at Kettering, destined to be his future associate in the great cause of Missions. Mr. Carey was unexpectedly requested to preach at a meeting of ministers at Northampton. On descending from the pulpit Mr. Fuller grasped his hand, and described in the warmest language the delight he felt at finding so exact a coincidence in their sentiments, and expressed his hope that they should become better acquainted with each other. Thus commenced a cordial friendship between two great and congenial minds, cemented by a rare coincidence of elevated views and energy of character, which continued in undiminished vigour to the close of Mr. Fuller's career in 1815.

First introduction to Mr. Fuller.

It was from the perusal of "Cooke's Voyages round the World," and while employed in giving instruction to his pupils at Moulton in geography, that Mr. Carey was led to contemplate the moral and spiritual degradation of the heathen, and to form the noble design of communicating the Gospel to them. When he was subsequently constrained to relinquish the school and return to manual occupation, the same thoughts were still uppermost. The idea of establishing a Mission to the heathen had taken such complete possession of his mind as to absorb his thoughts and his affections. He could talk of little else. Mr. Fuller has related, that on going to his little workshop, he saw a large map suspended on the wall, composed of several sheets pasted together, in which he had entered every particular he had been able to glean relative to the natural characteristics, the population, and the religion of every country, as then known to us. While engaged in making or mending shoes, his eye was often raised from the last to the map, and his mind was employed in traversing the different regions of the globe, and musing on the condition of the various heathen tribes, and devising the means of evangelising them. It was to this circumstance that Mr.

●origin of his missionary ardour.

Wilberforce alluded in the House of Commons when urging parliament to grant the missionaries free access to India. "A sublimer thought," said he, "cannot be conceived than when a poor cobbler formed the resolution to give to the millions of Hindoos the Bible in their own language." But Mr. Carey met with little encouragement in his endeavours to press the subject of Missions on his ministerial brethren. At a meeting of ministers held about this time at Northampton, Mr. Ryland, senior, called on the young men around him to propose some topic for discussion, on which Mr. Carey rose and proposed for consideration, "The duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the Gospel among heathen nations." The venerable divine received the proposal with astonishment, and, springing on his feet, denounced the proposition with a frown, and thundered out, "Young man, sit down. When God pleases to convert the heathen, He will do it without your aid or mine." Mr. Fuller himself, who, in after years, built up the Mission at home, while Mr. Carey was employed in establishing it in India, was startled by the boldness and novelty of the proposal, and described his feelings as resembling those of the unbelieving courtier in Israel: "If the Lord should make windows in heaven, might such a thing be!"

Soon after, Mr. Carey had occasion to visit Birmingham, and he called on Mr. Potts, who had risen to opulence in the course of trade, and immediately introduced the subject of Missions. He stated that if any body of Christians could be found to send him to a heathen land and support him for a twelvemonth, he was ready at once to embark on the undertaking. Mr. Potts replied that the idea was altogether new, and that the Christian public was not prepared for such an enterprise. Mr. Carey said that he was unhappily too well aware of this fact, but he had written a pamphlet on the state of the heathen, which might possibly awaken some interest on the subject, but was

His missionary
views encouraged
by Mr. Potts.

unable to meet the expense of publishing it. Mr. Potts immediately offered him a contribution of 10*l.* towards the cost, which was readily accepted. On his return from Birmingham, he met Mr. Fuller, Dr. Ryland, and Mr. Sutcliff, and pressed the question on their notice with increased importunity, and urged them to rouse the denomination to action. They exhibited great reluctance; and he then disclosed to them that he had ventured to draw up an address on the subject, and had pledged himself to a friend to publish it, unless he could prevail on some one more competent to undertake the task. To escape from his importunity they united in urging him to revise it for the press, and it was this pamphlet which

Compiles a
pamphlet on
missions.

may be said to have laid the foundation of those missionary efforts which have now grown to the dimensions of a national undertaking. The pamphlet displayed the extraordinary knowledge he had acquired of the geography, history, and statistics of the various countries in the world, and exhibited the greatest mental energy under the pressure of the severest poverty. But while engaged in the compilation of this work, he and his family were in a state bordering on starvation, and passed many weeks without animal food, and with but a scanty supply of other provisions. Of his singular aptitude for acquiring languages, we have an illustration at this period from the recollections of Mr. Fuller. Some friend presented him with a large folio volume in Dutch, on which he borrowed a grammar and dictionary of that language, and was soon able to present his friend with a translation of one of the Dutch sermons in English.

The little village of Moulton did not, however, present a sphere suited to a man of Mr. Carey's character and aspirations. It afforded him but few facilities for those mental and ministerial pursuits with which his happiness had become identified. He therefore accepted the invitation of the church at Leicester, and in 1789 removed to that town at the age of twenty-

Mr. Carey's removal to Leicester, and the advantages he enjoyed there.

eight. His pecuniary circumstances were somewhat improved by the change; but the poverty of the church obliged him to have recourse to secular employment to eke out a subsistence, and he made a second attempt to keep a school. At Leicester he was introduced to Dr. Arnold, who is described as "a great lover of polite literature," and who gave him free access to his library, which contained a valuable collection of works on science. Here Mr. Carey was in his element; he enjoyed opportunities of cultivating his natural tastes, and prosecuting those scientific researches which were afterwards continued with so much ardour and success in India. He distributed his time to the best advantage. "On Monday," he writes, "I confine myself to the study of the learned languages, and oblige myself to translate something. On Tuesday, the study of science, history, and composition. On Wednesday, I preach a lecture, and have been more than a twelvemonth on the book of Revelations. On Thursday I visit my friends. Friday and Saturday are spent in preparing for the Lord's day; and the Lord's day in preaching the word of God. Once a fortnight I preach three times at home, and once a fortnight I go to a neighbouring village in the evening. My school begins at nine in the morning, and continues till four in winter and five in summer."

At Leicester Mr. Carey made the acquaintance of the Rev. Thomas Robinson, the pious and exemplary rector of St. Mary's, who will long be remembered with affection and esteem for his admirable "Scripture Characters." With him Mr. Carey maintained a constant and cordial intercourse while he continued in the town, and a friendly correspondence after his removal to India. Mr. Robinson one day asked him whether he approved of Dissenting ministers enlarging their own congregations at the expense of the churches in the Establishment? Mr. Carey replied, "Mr. Robinson, I am a Dissenter and you are a Churchman; we must each en-

Introduction to
the Rev. T.
Robinson.

deavour to do good according to our light. At the same time, you may be assured that I had rather be the instrument of converting a scavenger that sweeps the streets than of proselytising the richest and best character in your congregation." Such were the unsectarian sentiments of Mr. Carey when in comparative obscurity; and though he always entertained a strong objection to the union of Church and State, and considered religious establishments without warrant in Scripture, the same enlarged and liberal views regulated his conduct when placed in a more conspicuous sphere of action. The Baptist church at Leicester was at this time sunk in the slough of Antinomianism. Mr. Carey made the most strenuous efforts to root out these errors; but, meeting with little success, he formed the bold plan of at once dissolving the church and constructing a new association, into which none should be admitted but those who agreed to subscribe a declaration that they would in future adhere with rigid fidelity to the doctrines and the discipline of the New Testament. The church, thus purified, soon began to exhibit a more healthy feeling of piety and zeal. His opponents, who were loose in doctrine and looser in practice, became its bitter enemies after they had been excluded; but their attacks only afforded a brighter opportunity for the exhibition of Christian virtue on the part of the pastor and members. In reference to this period of his labours, Mr. Fuller has observed: "Mr. Carey's zeal and unremitted labours in preaching the word, not only in Leicester but in the villages near it, endeared him to the friends of religion, and his thirst for learning rendered him respected by others. He has sometimes regretted to me his want of early education. 'I was so rusticated,' he would say, 'when a lad, that I am as if I could never recover myself.' Yet the natural energies of his mind, accompanied, as they were, with a generous, manly, and open disposition, together with an ingratiating behaviour towards men of every

Endeavours to
purify the
church.

degree, soon rendered him respected not only by those who attended his ministry, but by many other persons of learning and opulence."

These ministerial labours and this success, however, never for a moment relaxed Mr. Carey's ardour for the great missionary object on which his thoughts and affections were now fixed. The more he Continued ardour for missions. mused on it, the more intensely did the fire burn within him. For four years he had continued on every occasion to urge on his brethren in the ministry the indispensable duty of sending the Gospel to the heathen. The aged and more influential ministers endeavoured to dissuade him from so visionary a scheme; but this only led him to press it with greater earnestness on those who were nearer his own age and standing in the denomination — Fuller, Sutcliff, Ryland, and Pearce; and he succeeded, in some small degree, in communicating to them the contagion of his own ardent feelings. At the Easter meeting of ministers at Clipstone in 1791, the discourses appeared to bear an aspect towards the missionary cause; and when they sat down to dinner, after the services of the day, Mr. Carey urged that something should be done immediately, on that very day, towards the formation of a Society to propagate the Gospel in heathen lands. But he was doomed to another disappointment of sixteen months. It was only through his importunity that his brethren had been led to regard the project with complacency. But when the idea of pledging themselves to embark in such an undertaking was placed distinctly before them, the difficulties seemed to expand, and they shrank from the responsibility. It was an unknown path on which he was urging them to enter; and the enterprise seemed too vast and ambitious for their obscure position and limited resources. To gain time without wounding his feelings, they urged him to print "The Inquiry on Missions;" and Mr. Carey, seeing that nothing farther was to be gained on that occasion, revised it and

sent it to press. The next Association was held at Nottingham at the end of May, 1792. The pulpit was ceded to Mr. Carey, and the sermon which he preached may be considered as the foundation of the Baptist Mission in India. He took for his text the passage in Isaiah liv. 2, 3:—"Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes: for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited." From this text he explained and enforced two principles. 1. Expect great things from God. 2. Attempt great things for God. The discourse was animated and eloquent. His sermon on missions, and its effect. The concentrated energy of the feelings which had been fermenting in his mind for so many years, was poured into his exhortations, and it seemed as if the fruition of his long-cherished hopes depended on the impression he could then produce on the audience. With such vigour did he denounce the criminality of that indifference with which the cause of Missions was treated, that Dr. Ryland, who was present, said he should not have wondered if the audience had "lifted up their voices, and wept." But when the assembled ministers came to deliberate on the subject, the old feelings of doubt and hesitation predominated, and they were about to separate without any decisive result, when Mr. Carey seized Mr. Fuller by the hand in an agony of distress, and inquired whether "they were again going away without doing anything?" The exhortation was successful, and to his delight he saw the following resolution recorded on the Minutes:—"That a plan be prepared against the next ministers' meeting at Kettering for the establishment of a Society for propagating the Gospel among the heathen."

This memorable meeting was held at Kettering on the 2nd of October, 1792. After the services of the day,

the ministers, twelve in number, withdrew to the parlour of Mrs. Wallis, the widow of one of the deacons, whose ancestor had established the first Baptist church in the town a century before. They entered into a long and anxious discussion of the practicability of sending a Mission to the heathen. At the present day, when the various countries of the world are almost as well known as the counties of England were at that time, and the genius of the age has created such matchless facilities of communication, that Canton is as accessible from London as Edinburgh then was, the organisation of a society for any object in any part of the globe appears a matter of ease, and it is difficult to realise the obstacles which surrounded such an enterprise when it was debated at this meeting. The ministers felt that there was no experience of any such undertaking to guide their movements; they were ignorant of the mode of constructing a Missionary Association, or working its machinery; they knew of no favourable opening in any heathen land to which their efforts might be directed; they were without funds or influence, and their inland position in the centre of England was unfavourable for correspondence or action. But all these objections were overruled by the vigour of Mr. Carey's arguments, and under the irresistible influence of his great mind, the ministers present were prevailed on to pledge themselves in a solemn vow to God and to each other, to make, at the least, an attempt to convey the Gospel message of salvation to some portion of the heathen world. A Society was constituted, and a Committee of five appointed, consisting of Andrew Fuller, John Ryland, John Sutcliff, Reynold Hogg, and William Carey. Mr. Fuller was nominated the secretary, and Mr. Hogg the treasurer of the new body, and a subscription was collected, amounting to *thirteen pounds two shillings and sixpence*, the harbinger of the millions which have since been laid on the altar of this sacred cause. As soon as the subscription paper was

Formation of
the Baptist Mis-
sionary Society,
2nd Oct. 1793.

filled up, Mr. Carey offered to embark for any country which the Society might select. His mind was embued with that irresistible enthusiasm to which great enterprises owe their origin, and notwithstanding the ridiculous contrast between the resources obtained, and the magnitude of the enterprise, he was eager to enter upon it at once. The church at Birmingham, under the pastoral care of the ardent and amiable Samuel Pearce, on hearing of this missionary movement, immediately raised a subscription of 70*l.*, and became the first auxiliary of the "Primary Society," as the parent Society at Kettering was at first designated. Other churches in the country followed the example, and the Committee soon found themselves in possession of considerable funds. *

But the ministers and churches of the denomination in London stood aloof from the undertaking. Residing in the metropolis of England, they considered themselves the magnates of the body, and were unwilling to commit themselves, as they said, to an enterprise struck out in the heat of enthusiasm, by a few ardent spirits, in an obscure country Association. Of all the ministers in the metropolis, only one could be induced to countenance it. A meeting was convened in the city, to consider the propriety of forming an auxiliary Society to that which had been formed at Kettering; but the proposal was negatived by an overwhelming majority, though some were anxious to cover their pusillanimity by individual donations. Dr. Stennett, one of the most influential ministers in the denomination in London, treated Mr. Carey with great personal respect, but would have nothing to do with the Mission. The feeling then prevalent in London was thus described by Mr. Fuller at a subsequent period:—"When we began, in 1792, there was little or no respectability among us, not so much as a quire to sit in the chair, or an orator to address him with speeches. Hence good Dr. Stennett advised the London ministers to stand aloof, and not commit themselves."

Indifference of
churches and
ministers to
Missions.

Great allowance, however, must be made for the caution of the London ministers. The men with whom the Mission originated were comparatively obscure even in their own diminutive denomination. Mr. Fuller was just beginning to attract public notice as a divine; but neither he nor Mr. Carey, whose genius and labours have contributed to shed so much lustre on the denomination, were, at the time, men of any "mark or likelihood," and their undertaking seemed to be so far beyond their strength, as to resemble rather the dream of enthusiasts than the sober project of reasonable men. Little did the respectable ministers of London foresee that the plan from which they shrunk was the germ of a magnificent enterprise, destined ere long to enlist the zeal and energy of every class and rank in England and America, and to embrace in its scope every heathen tribe under the sun. The only minister from whom Mr. Carey experienced any warmth of sympathy was a member of the Established Church, the venerable John Newton, who "advised him with the fidelity and tenderness of a father."

The feeling which was thus found to pervade the minds of the most respectable Baptist ministers in London, on the subject of Missions, was not confined to that denomination. In other quarters the project of

Indifference to
Missions in the
Church of Scot-
land.

Missions was treated with even greater contempt and aversion. The national mind was callous to the enterprise. Three years after the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, to whom belongs the merit of breaking up the lethargy of the age, a proposition to establish a foreign Mission was brought forward in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and it was treated not only as an unnatural but a revolutionary design. The proposal was introduced in 1796, when the Rev. Mr. Hamilton asserted that "to spread abroad the knowledge of the gospel among barbarous and heathen nations seemed to him highly preposterous, inasmuch as it anticipates, nay, reverses the order of nature. Men must be polished

and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths." After extolling the simple virtues of the untutored Indian or Otaheitan, he ventured to affirm that Christianity would neither refine his morals nor ensure his happiness. The venerable Dr. Erskine indignantly denounced these assertions, and calling for the Bible turned to the Epistles, and reminded the Assembly that an inspired Apostle had declared himself debtor, not merely to the polished Greeks, but to the unlettered barbarians; not merely to the wise, but to the unwise, to preach to them the Gospel which was the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. But Dr. Hill, notwithstanding this remonstrance, pronounced the missionary societies highly dangerous in their tendencies to the good order of society; and Mr. Boyle, in his address to the meeting, said he was impressed with a sense of the alarming and dangerous tendency of the measures proposed, which the House could not too strongly oppose, and which all the loyal and well-affected members of the Assembly would be unanimous in opposing. He averred that "as for these Missionary Societies, since it is to be apprehended that their funds may be in time, nay, certainly will be turned against the Constitution, it is the bounden duty of this House to give the overtures recommending them our most serious disapprobation, and our immediate and most decisive opposition."

It was in this morbid state of public feeling that Mr. Fuller and Mr. Carey resolved to carry out the plan of a Mission to the heathen. The destination of the Mission was undecided, when the receipt of a letter from a Mr. Thomas, who had resided

Attention of Baptist Missionary Society directed to Bengal.

for several years in Bengal and preached to the natives, and was now endeavouring to obtain subscriptions for establishing a Mission among them, induced the Baptist Missionary Society to adopt that province as the sphere of their future labours. It will be interesting, therefore, at this point of the narrative, to glance at the exertions

which had previously been made to disseminate Divine truth in that region, and to refer more particularly to another and an unsuccessful effort which was made at this period, by men of influence in Church and State, unknown to Mr. Carey and his fellow-labourers, to accomplish the object in which they were engaged.

The first Protestant Mission in India was established under the auspices of Frederick IV., King of Denmark, who, at the recommendation of Dr. Francke, of Halle, in Saxony, sent out Ziegenbalg and another missionary to the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel Coast, in 1705. The Mission was soon after strengthened by additional labourers, who applied with zeal to the study of the language and the conversion of the people. In 1714, a Missionary College was established at Copenhagen, and Ziegenbalg returned to Europe with a native convert, and was graciously received and encouraged by the King. In the following year he was introduced, under the direction of the Danish Sovereign, to George I., who manifested more interest in the success of this effort to promote Christianity among the natives of India than any of his successors have done. The Coast Mission also received no little assistance from the Honourable Society for the Promotion of Christianity, incorporated in London by King William in 1695. Ziegenbalg died in 1719, but the Mission he had established was maintained and extended by a long succession of able missionaries. In the year 1739, it was joined by John Zachariah Kiernandier, who appears to have embarked for India under the patronage of that Society, generally known as the Christian Knowledge Society. This devoted missionary was born at Akstad, in Sweden, in 1711, and trained up to learning and usefulness by Dr. Francke, of Halle, a place which was for half a century the nursery of the Protestant Mission on the Coast. Some years after his arrival hostilities broke out between the

First establishment of Protestant missions in India.

English and the French settlements on the coast, and for a time it was doubtful which of these European powers was destined to acquire supremacy in India. These wars interrupted the labours of the missionaries, and the occupation of Cuddalore by the French in 1758 drove Kiernandier to Tranquebar. Seeing little prospect of re-suming his peaceful labours amidst these tumults he turned his attention to Bengal, where the star of England was then in the ascendant, and English power had been established, without a rival, over three of the fairest provinces of the Mogul empire. He reached Calcutta in 1758, about fifteen months after the battle of Plassey, and received a cordial welcome from Colonel and Mrs. Clive, who stood sponsors to his youngest child. Calcutta was now rising like a phoenix from its ashes, and the community, enriched by the treasures of Moorshedabad, was eagerly employed in building the new city and improving the brilliant prospects which were now unfolded. In these interesting circumstances Kiernandier soon became a general favourite, and was enabled, under the encouragement of the two Chaplains and by the liberality of the public, to open a school for the education of the poor, into which forty pupils, English, Armenian, Portuguese, and natives, were received in the course of four months, and gratuitously instructed in the rudiments of learning and the doctrines of Christianity.

First Protestant
Mission in Bengal
by Kiernandier.

In June, 1759, Kiernandier commenced divine service in the Portuguese language, which was more familiar to him than English. He never acquired any knowledge either of Hindoostanee or Bengalee, and to the day of his death was unable to converse in them. Portuguese came in with the Portuguese power two centuries and a half before, and survived its extinction. It was the *lingua franca* of all the foreign Settlements around the Bay of Bengal, and was the ordinary medium of communication between the Europeans and their domestics, while Persian was the language of intercourse

General use of
Portuguese in
Bengal.

with the native courts. Even in Calcutta Portuguese was more commonly used by the servants of the Company and the settlers than the language of the country. The charter granted to the East India Company at the beginning of the eighteenth century contained a provision that they should maintain one Minister at each of their garrisons and superior factories, and that he should be bound to acquire the Portuguese language within a twelvemonth of reaching India. Clive, who was never able to give an order in any native language, spoke Portuguese with fluency. The use of this language has since died out in Bengal so completely that the descendants of the Portuguese now speak Bengalee from their cradle. Yet down to so late a period as 1828, the governor of Serampore, a Norwegian, received the daily report of his little garrison of thirty sepoy from the native commandant, a native of Oude, in Portuguese. It was in this language that Kiernandier commenced and continued his ministrations among his native congregation.

His wife died four years after his arrival in Calcutta, and in 1761 he married a widow who was said to be in circumstances of such affluence as to place him on a footing of equality with the first men in the Settlement. But this is evidently an oriental exaggeration, for there had been no time for the accumulation of such wealth within three years after the loss of every fortune in the sack of Calcutta. A considerable portion of the money brought him by his wife he devoted to the cause of religion, and in 1767 began to build a church, the expense of which was said to have amounted to 6000*l*. But the cost appears fabulous when it is remembered that twenty years after the church was an unplastered, brick building, of small dimensions, with a brick pulpit built against the wall, and a few rude benches capable of accommodating a congregation of two hundred. It is the present Mission Church of Calcutta, now a stately edifice, which, though not conse-

Kiernandier's
second
marriage.

His liberality.

crated by episcopal formulas, has been rendered sacred by the zealous and successful labours of Brown, Thomason, and Dealtry. Kiernandier's second wife died in 1773. She always identified herself with his missionary plans, and bequeathed all her jewels, valued at 600*l.*, to found a school. In 1783 he and one of his sons are said to have given 400*l.* to an endowment fund. Four years after, Kiernandier himself was a fugitive, and his Mission a wreck. He was unable to meet his pecuniary engagements, and was constrained to seek refuge under the Danish flag at Serampore, from whence he subsequently retired to Chinsurah. The sheriff seized all his property, and the church he had erected was on the point of being desecrated by the hammer of the auctioneer, when Mr. Charles Grant stepped forward and purchased it for 1000*l.*, and appropriated it to the cause of the Mission in connection with the Christian Knowledge Society.

The cause of Kiernandier's bankruptcy cannot now be traced. By some it has been attributed to extravagant living, and one author of note has attempted to extract a moral on the folly of luxury and the instability of human greatness from the history of his prosperity and fall. But this sentimental picture rests on imagination and not on fact. Kiernandier's misfortune, considering the character of the man, has been more justly imputed to his imprudence in standing security for a spendthrift son. The severest accusation against him is, that he sported a carriage and four in his days of affluence. If the tradition be correct, it is at least certain that the equipage came from his wife's fortune, and it reflects no odium on the missionary cause. But it is more than improbable. The old sumptuary laws of the Company, passed at a time when the extravagance of their servants affected their dividends, were still in force, and they restricted the use of a coach and four to the President in Council under severe penalties. However imprudent Kiernandier might have been, it would be unjust to his memory to withhold

His misfortunes
and flight.

Cause of his
embarrassment.

the tribute which is due to his liberality and zeal. When possessed of wealth, he employed it nobly; and in an age of universal indifference to the sanctions of religion, he devoted his property to the promotion of piety, and laboured personally in the cause of Missions with a degree of zeal which has seldom been surpassed. Mr. Carey has recorded that when he visited Kiernandier at Chinsurah, in his eighty-third year, in 1794, the ardour which he manifested for the conversion of the heathen was very animating, and that he himself derived the highest encouragement from his exhortations.

Excellences of
his character.

The statistics of Kiernandier's Mission it is not easy to comprehend. According to the statements which were published he received no fewer than 1200 communicants between the years 1759 and 1786, and of these 250 are said, or supposed, to have been pure natives of Bengal. At the time of Kiernandier's removal from Calcutta, in 1787, there must, therefore, have been a large and important native Christian community in the city and its suburbs. Yet when Mr. Carey landed, six years after, he could not discover or hear of a single native who had been connected with Kiernandier's mission. Of the baptism of one native, however, there is distinct record. Gunesham-dass, an inhabitant of Delhi, joined the English army under Clive at the age of fifteen, and attached himself to our rising fortunes. He was, perhaps, the first Hindoo of caste who crossed the "black wave" to visit the shores of England. He returned to India with the new Judges sent out in 1774 to establish a Crown Court in Calcutta, and was appointed to the office of interpreter and translator, one of the most lucrative in those days of fortune. He attended Kiernandier's ministry, and having previously thrown off his caste, now threw off his religion, and received Christian baptism from the missionary, one of the judges of the Supreme Court standing sponsor. There is abundant evidence of the fact that Kiernandier's ministry was confined to the native descendants of the

Characteristics
of his Mission.

Portuguese and other European settlers in India. It is stated in one letter of the time, written in Calcutta, that "it was hoped the Christian Knowledge Society would extend its plan, and that the natives would be addressed in their own language as they were on the Coast." Another communication from Mr. Charles Grant runs thus:—"You know that the labours of the Mission Church have been confined to the descendants of Europeans and have hardly ever embraced a single heathen, so that a mission to the Hindoos and Mohammedans would be a new thing." It was always described in the correspondence with England as the "Portuguese Mission," and it began and ended with Kiernandier. A feeble old man, M. Frangel, kept the Portuguese congregation together for a time, but it was gradually absorbed in the English congregation collected soon after under the ministry of the Rev. David Brown. In 1789 the Christian Knowledge Society sent out Mr. Clarke to take charge of the Mission, but he never applied to the Portuguese language, and, after sowing discord among the European attendants, accepted a Government chaplaincy. For eight years the Society made the most diligent search for another missionary to succeed him, and were at length constrained to accept the services of a German minister, the Rev. Tobias Ringletaube. He never took to his work at the church, and after a twelvemonth of lukewarm service returned to Europe, and he is remembered in missionary annals only as having afforded the enemies of Missions a handle for ridiculing them by jocular allusions to his uncouth name.

Efforts of the
Christian Know-
ledge Society to
keep up the
Mission.

On the departure of Kiernandier, the services in the Mission Church, in the English language, were taken up by the Rev. David Brown, to whose name we shall have frequent occasion to refer in the course of this biography. Mr. Brown was the son of a substantial farmer in Yorkshire, and was introduced, at the age of eleven, to the notice of a clergyman who was pleased

The Rev.
David Brown.

with his intelligent mind, and offered to take charge of his education. He resided with his patron at Scarborough, until he was removed to the grammar school at Hull, of which the Rev. Joseph Milner was then the head master. From thence he proceeded to Magdalen College, Oxford. While he was pursuing his studies there an institution was established in Calcutta for the education of the orphans and children of military officers in the Company's service. The agent of the institution was at this time in London in search of a master, and hearing of Mr. Brown offered him the appointment, with the understanding that the number of children in the male and female department would not exceed fifty, and that the salary would be such as to give him a respectable maintenance. But the Military Orphan Society had adopted the rule of sending the offspring of officers born in wedlock of European parentage to England for education, and confining their labours in India to the illegitimate issue of native mothers. Such was then the lax morality of Europeans in India, that when the institution came into operation the number of bastard children requiring admittance under this rule was found to amount to hundreds. The salary also turned out to be of smaller amount than had been originally stated; but Mr. Brown, who was always above pecuniary considerations, signed the agreement, and accepted the charge, because it opened a large field of usefulness to him. He then applied to Dr. Lowth, the Bishop of London, for ordination, but was peremptorily refused on the ground that some whom he had ordained for the Colonies had returned to England, and dishonoured their cloth. Application was then made to Dr. Watson, the Bishop of Llandaff, who hesitated at first, but at length gave him deacon's orders, and some excellent advice. Mr. Brown reached Calcutta in June, 1787, and immediately assumed charge of the two orphan institutions. He found on his arrival that Kiernandier's missionary establishment had just been broken up, and the deserted congregation at the

Mission Church seemed to claim the assistance of the only clergyman who could afford it. Great interest was therefore made with the governors of the Orphan Institution to allow Mr. Brown to preach at the Mission Church once on a Sabbath, as he had begun to do, but they refused to accede to the proposal; and finding that Mr. Brown persisted in giving his services to the congregation, though without in any degree neglecting his school duties, they dismissed him from his post. Having thus lost the means of support, Mr. Brown, in August, 1788, opened his house for the reception of pupils. The school was continued till he was appointed a military chaplain. At the same time, he gave private instruction at Mr. Grant's house to his two sons Mr. Charles Grant, subsequently President of the Board of Control — now Lord Glenelg, — and Mr. afterwards Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay.

In Calcutta, Mr. Brown found a small band of Christian friends of congenial sentiments, and he united cordially with them in the promotion of their plans of usefulness. The most distinguished member of this little society was Mr. Charles Grant, the first man connected with the Government of India who ever ventured to advocate the intellectual and religious improvement of the natives. It is a humiliating fact that more than half a century elapsed after the establishment of our power in that country, before the cultivation of the minds or the elevation of the character of the people was recognised as a public duty. At the same time the most laudable efforts were made both in India and in England to improve the administration, and make it the instrument of promoting the material happiness of our subjects, and of protecting them from oppression. Between the years 1774 and 1794, the affairs of India were brought more distinctly, and more earnestly under the cognisance of parliament than at any previous or subsequent period. The most eminent statesmen of the age, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and Wyndham, studied the condition and the wants of

Mr. Charles
Grant's exertions
for the improve-
ment of India.

India with the most benevolent solicitude. Yet in no speech or communication of theirs can be traced the faintest allusion to that duty which is now considered the most paramount and imperative—the communication of knowledge to the inhabitants with the view of raising them in the scale of civilisation. The time for acknowledging this noble responsibility had not then arrived. One man alone of those connected with the Government of India appears to have been in advance of the age, Mr. Charles Grant. He went out to India at an early age, and was appointed a writer on the Bengal establishment in 1773; and after passing through various subordinate appointments became a member of the Board of Trade in Calcutta. Amidst the universal scepticism of the day he exhibited in his principles and his practice a noble specimen of the Christian character. While all around him, with rare exceptions, were absorbed in the pursuit of wealth, he devoted his attention to the moral and religious improvement of the natives. At that early period he appears to have adopted the opinion subsequently enunciated by Sir Charles Metcalfe, that divine Providence had assuredly some higher and nobler object in bestowing the empire of India on England, than to facilitate the export or import of cotton-piece goods. Mr. Grant lost no opportunity of promoting the instruction of the natives by his personal influence as well as by pecuniary donations. On the bankruptcy of Mr. Kiernandier, as we have stated, he purchased the Church, and with the cooperation of his two friends, the Rev. David Brown and Mr. Robert Chambers, an officer of the Supreme Court, equally eminent as an orientalist and a Christian, endeavoured to maintain the cause of religion in Calcutta, in connection with that Mission.

It was in these circumstances that Mr. John Thomas arrived in Calcutta, and was introduced to this Christian circle. Mr. Thomas's father was deacon of a Baptist church in Gloucestershire, and he himself had been educated for the medical pro-

Mr. John
Thomas goes to
Calcutta in 1783.

fession. His practice, however, was not adequate to his support, and in 1783 he obtained an appointment in the service of the East India Company, and proceeded to Calcutta as surgeon of the "Oxford" East Indiaman. On his arrival he sought the sympathy of religious society, but without success. The English community in Calcutta and in the interior had become orientalised, and every feeling of religion was smothered by the pursuit of gain. There was no indication that the conquerors of Bengal possessed any religion at all, except the hoisting of the flag on Sundays, and the official attendance of a few at the Sunday morning service. Unable to discover any kindred spirit in the town, Mr. Thomas, whose course was always eccentric, was induced to "advertise for a Christian," as he termed it. He inserted a notice in the India Gazette of the 1st of November, 1783, that "a plan had been formed for the more effectual spreading the knowledge of Jesus Christ and his glorious gospel in and around Bengal, and all classes were invited to come forward and assist in the undertaking." Two responses were made to this appeal, one from the senior chaplain, which implied little, the other from Mr. William Chambers, stating "that if A B C"—the signature Mr. Thomas had adopted, "would open a subscription for a translation of the New Testament into the Persian and Moorish languages, he would meet with suitable encouragement."

This movement led to no result, and Mr. Thomas returned to England. In 1786 he again embarked for India in the same vessel and the same capacity, and on reaching Calcutta was introduced to Mr. Grant and his friends, among whom he enjoyed the blessing of Christian communion, and in whose religious meetings he took a share. He had always felt a strong desire to be employed in preaching to the natives of the country, and he now communicated these views to Mr. Grant, who was greatly taken with Mr. Thomas's zeal and ardour, and with that aptitude for

His second visit
in 1786; engages
in Mission.

communicating instruction for which he was always remarkable. Mr. Grant had at this time obtained a large grant of rent-free land at Goamalty in the vicinity of Malda, under an imperial grant, and established a factory for the cultivation of indigo, then recently introduced into the country. Having determined to second Mr. Thomas's views, he proposed to employ him as a missionary in this locality, and raised a subscription among his friends to enable him to relinquish the Company's service, and devote his time to the work of Missions, and the establishment of a missionary station at Goamalty. Mr. Grant's aggregate contributions to this fund amounted to a thousand pounds. Mr. Thomas therefore left the "Oxford," and removed to Malda, where he found Mr. Grant's successor at the Commercial Residency, Mr. Udney, a man of great benevolence and Christian philanthropy. There were also in the neighbourhood several young men employed in the management of Mr. Grant's indigo factories who had imbibed his religious views; and Malda resembled an oasis in the great moral desert of India. Mr. Thomas applied diligently to the study of Bengalee, which he learned to speak with great fluency, and he translated some portions of the New Testament into it, copies of which were multiplied by transcription. The translation was crude, and, in the opinion of two of the best judges of the language then in Bengal, scarcely intelligible, being disfigured by vulgar provincialisms. 15715.

Mr. Thomas pursued his missionary work for nearly three years in this locality with much assiduity, often

Mr. Thomas's
apparent suc-
cess; defects of
his character.

passing two or three months together in his boat, and itinerating through the country. He appears to have made a considerable impression on the minds of three natives of good caste, and considerable intelligence, Ram-bosoo, Parbuttee, and Mohun-chund. Mr. Thomas always entertained a higher opinion of their sincerity than his European friends, and Mr. Grant always suspected their professions. But all Mr. Thomas's zeal

was unable to counterbalance the defects of his character. He was a man with whom no permanent association of labour could be formed. He was well read in the Scriptures, possessed great fluency of address, and exhibited much spirituality of mind; on the other hand, he was ecstatic in his religious feelings, and so extravagant and mystical as to bring his sincerity into question. He was warm in his attachments, but irascible and overbearing, and so intemperate in language as to render all intercourse with him hazardous. Among a community of Churchmen he obtruded his own denominational views with offensive pertinacity. After having alienated the minds of the little Christian society at Malda, he quitted the station and embarked in speculations, a fondness for which he had imbibed on the "Oxford," where every officer had his own private adventure. Of the first principles of mercantile transactions he was entirely ignorant, and he was soon overwhelmed with debt. It was with great reluctance that Mr. Grant, on the eve of his departure for England in 1790, was constrained to withdraw his contribution to Mr. Thomas's support, but it was done with the utmost delicacy and regard for his destitute situation in a strange land. Mr. Thomas determined at length to return to England, and to seek assistance for the establishment of a Mission in Bengal among the religious friends in his own denomination with whom he had continued to correspond while in India.

Previously to Mr. Thomas's arrival in India, Mr. Grant had drawn out, in 1786, the plan of a "Mission to Bengal." He was not satisfied with the Portuguese Mission of Kiernandier, and was anxious that Christian truth should be propagated among the natives of the country in the interior through the medium of their own tongue. While he urged on the Christian Knowledge Society the necessity of sending out a missionary to supply the place of Mr. Kiernandier, he kept constantly in view the greater scheme of a Mission,

Mr. Grant projects a missionary scheme.

as he was accustomed to denominate it. Mr. Brown, who was subsequently associated with him in promoting it, describes it as having embraced the division of the province into eight missionary circles, in each of which a young clergyman of the Church of England was to be stationed upon a salary of 350*l.* a year. He was to be employed in setting up schools, superintending catechists, and establishing churches. The support of Government was deemed indispensable to success. Mr. Brown, in his remarks on this Proposal to establish a Protestant Mission in Bengal, remarks that "It requires only to live a month in Bengal to be convinced of this fact: the Governor of Bengal is like the head to the body in a more clear and intimate manner than is perhaps known in any other country. Whatever is undertaken without his permission, or some sort of provision, must wither and die." It was determined, therefore, to break the plan to Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, and the task was entrusted to the two chaplains. The draft of their Address was drawn up by Mr. Grant, and as it was necessary to approach him by "gentle gradations," and not to startle his mind abruptly with the idea of a Mission, the plan of "native schools was pressed on him preparatory to the main business of giving Christian light to the heathen." The very guarded and almost pusillanimous language of the Address, even on the subject of secular education, shows how entirely foreign any such proposal was to the feelings of the age. But the chaplains found it impossible to make any impression on Lord Cornwallis. He manifested an utter indifference to the conversion or even enlightenment of the natives. He dismissed them with the remark that "he had no faith in such schemes, and thought they must prove ineffectual." He thought, in fact, that our duty to India was complete when we had framed a code of laws, and created a landed aristocracy, and fixed the revenue in perpetuity. It does not affect the benevolence of his intention in these respects, that his whole system has

proved an utter failure, and has been the curse of Bengal for sixty years. Mr. Grant, who stood high in his confidence, then urged the plan on his attention in person, and was requested to put his thoughts and his arguments on paper. The Governor-General received the document with civility, and promised to read it, which he probably never did, and the whole scheme fell to the ground in India.

But this failure did not damp Mr. Grant's ardour. He hoped to bring a favourable influence from England to bear on the impassive Government of India.

Copies of the proposals were sent to the Arch-^{Endeavours to push it in England.}bishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, to secure their patronage; but, for the general promotion of the design among Christians in England, and the choice of missionaries, Mr. Grant and his Indian friends depended on the services of the Rev. Messrs. Romaine, Newton, Foster, and Cecil in London, and Mr. Simeon at Cambridge, at that time the most eminent ministers of the evangelical section of the Church. At the same time the promoters of the scheme addressed a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, to interest him in the cause of Indian Missions, and to obtain the benefit of his influence. In their letter to him, drawn up by Mr. Grant, they say, "had this subject been attended to twenty years ago, one religion and one language might have been diffused through these provinces. Late as it is, this great object still remains within reach, and we cannot but be persuaded that it might prove the solid glory of his Majesty's reign. Would it be too much for subjects who are cordially devoted to him, and love that glory, to hope that he might countenance such a scheme?" They add that the patronage of the public Authorities in England, and "a recommendation to the Government in India to countenance and protect the work, and to afford missionaries small portions of land (of which there was much to spare), whereon to establish themselves, erect schools and receive converts, would be sufficient." This letter was dated in

September, 1787, and appears to have been the first occasion on which Mr. Wilberforce's attention was drawn to the subject of Missions in India, to the establishment of which he devoted his fine talents and his powerful influence with untiring zeal for the next fifteen years. Mr. Grant likewise sent copies of the proposal to his friend and correspondent in London, Mr. Raikes, the brother of that eminent benefactor of England, the founder of Sunday Schools, with a request that he would urge it on the dignitaries of the Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury entertained it with a degree of caution bordering on lukewarmness; and the Bishop of London, while he wished every success to so benevolent a project, declined to take any active part in promoting it, on the ground that he had entered earnestly into Mr. Wilberforce's views for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves in the West Indies, and had no leisure to bestow on the East.

The project languished till the return of Mr. Grant to England in 1790, when he took up the thread of the negotiations, and spared no effort to enlist the support of those who presided over the Church and the State. But he met with little encouragement except from Mr. Wilberforce, who engaged at once to introduce the subject to the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. The Bishop was civil and favourable, but referred him in the first instance to the Archbishop, the East being within his province. But the Archbishop gave no indication of any interest in the proposal, and Mr. Grant at length ventured to wait on him at Lambeth. The prelate received him graciously, expressed his high approbation of the scheme of a Mission to Bengal, and announced his intention of mentioning the subject to the King and to Mr. Pitt. Mr. Grant then called on Mr. Wilberforce to report the progress he had made, and learnt that a new paper must be drawn up more suited to the meridian of England. Mr. Wilberforce's communications on the subject with his friends in

Project taken up
with zeal by Mr.
Grant on his re-
turn to England.

power had impressed on his mind the conviction that "any direct idea of a large Mission for the conversion of the country appeared too formidable at a time when Europe was in a state of fermentation. The proposal must be limited to the diffusion of knowledge generally, leaving it to be inferred that Christianity would be included in the plan." With great reluctance Mr. Grant went through the painful task of weeding the paper, and he found that the argument was weakened, and the proposal dwarfed in proportion as it was deprived of its religious character. The document, thus modified, was submitted to Mr. Wilberforce, and to Mr. Eliot, Mr. Pitt's brother-in-law, who had manifested a deep interest in the success of the undertaking. From their knowledge of the opinion entertained on this question in the highest political circle, they considered that it was still too missionary in its character, because education and civilisation were evidently intended to be subservient to the design of conversion. They advised him to subject it to another revision, and likewise to abandon the plan which he had advised, of leaning for pecuniary support on the revenue of the lands which would be benefited by these mental and moral improvements, and to trust to voluntary contributions. The paper was a second time remodelled, and Mr. Grant transmitted it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with an urgent request that some decisive movement should be made before the departure of the next spring fleet.

Four weeks elapsed without any communication from Lambeth, and Mr. Grant, impatient of delay, again ventured, unbidden, into the presence of the Archbishop, Dr. Moore, who offered many apologies for not having acknowledged the receipt of his letter. He expressed regret for the moral and religious condition of our Asiatic subjects, and said that he himself was decidedly favourable to the plan detailed in the able paper which had been sent to him, but such was the

Lukewarmness
of influential men
in England.

nature of some particular portions of it, and such was the present state of affairs, that time must be allowed for the consideration of it, and that the idea of setting it on foot before the ships sailed was utterly impracticable. He stated that he had gone so far as to introduce the subject to his Majesty, who had replied that "humanity alone would induce attention to it." The Archbishop then engaged to bring the subject again to the notice of the King on the first favourable opportunity, and if it received his approbation, "to speak to Mr. Pitt, and get the business brought forward by the Board of Control and the Court of Directors." Mr. Grant retired with a heart sickened by the discouragements which his plan had encountered, and after an interval of several weeks wrote to his friends in India, "As to the great Mission scheme, it still rests with the same great man, who promises, and I dare say, means fair, but perhaps waits for a smooth road, which he may be long in finding." After a considerable interval, the Archbishop submitted the plan again to the King, who appeared to feel the propriety and even the importance of the scheme, but hesitated to countenance it, "chiefly in consequence of the alarming progress of the French Revolution, and the proneness of the period to movements subversive of the established order of things." From the King, therefore, Mr. Grant had nothing to hope on behalf of a scheme which involved innovations. The Archbishop had also mentioned the subject of the Bengal Mission to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, and found them "on the whole favourably disposed."

The period for renewing the Charter of the East India Company was now approaching, and Mr. Grant looked forward to it with feelings of great anxiety. He hoped that some provision would be made for those plans of improvement in India which he had been urging for seven years, and for the promotion of which he had moved the Episcopal Bench, the Ministry, and the King. The India Bill was introduced in 1793 by Mr. Dundas,

Renewal of the
Company's
charter.

the ablest, beyond all comparison, of the India Ministers of the last seventy years ; but his Bill was found to be silent on the subject of any mental or moral improvement. Every interest was provided for in it except that of religion. It was determined, however, by the friends of Indian evangelisation that the occasion should not be allowed to pass without a strenuous effort, and Mr. Wilberforce willingly took charge of the question. After the Bill had been fully discussed, he proposed two resolutions :— “ First, — That it is the opinion of this House that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in the East ; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement.” The second resolution referred to the provision of sufficient means of religious instruction for all persons of the Protestant communion in India, and the maintenance of a chaplain on every ship of 500 tons burden and upwards. Mr. Wilberforce's influence with the Ministry, and the great personal esteem he enjoyed in the house, enabled him to carry these resolutions, and they were entered on the journals. The heart of Mr. Grant and his associates beat high at this unexpected token of success, and their expectations became very sanguine. Mr. Wilberforce makes the following note in his journal :— “ Through God's help, got the East India resolutions in quietly. . . . The hand of Providence was never more visible than in this Indian affair.” The resolutions were then placed in the hands of the Attorney and the Solicitor-general. They considered that the general terms of the first resolution, to be legally efficacious, must be embodied in specific language, and that the measure to be pursued for the moral and religious improvement of the people of India, was the encouragement of missionaries and schoolmasters. They accordingly drew up a clause

Mr. Wilberforce's
resolutions in the
House of Com-
mons.

to be inserted in the Bill, which contained these two portentous words. The India House was seized with a panic, which led to an unexpected and violent explosion; the clauses were quashed, and the improvement of India, as far as the public Authorities were concerned, was thrown back twenty years.

To explain this transaction, it will be necessary to ask the reader's attention to previous movements in India, and to the origin and progress of those feelings which produced this disastrous result.

Review of proceedings in India.

The Court of Directors, while existing only as a commercial body, appear to have taken much interest in the religious instruction of the natives who were brought under their influence. Not only were missionaries allowed to embark in their ships with the recognised character of Christian teachers, but a laudable desire was manifested to encourage their labours. In 1659, the Directors informed the President at Madras that it was "their earnest desire, by all possible means, to propagate the Gospel in those parts." In 1677, they sent out Mr. Ralph Orde as school-master, on 50*l.* a year, who was "to teach all the children to read English, and to write and cipher gratis; and if any of the other nations, such as Portuguese, Gentoos, or others, would send their children to school, we require that they also be taught gratis: he is to instruct them in the Protestant religion, and to diet at our table." The same spirit of benevolence was exhibited in Parliament. A missionary clause was inserted in the Charter of 1698, directing the Company to maintain a minister of religion at their stations, who was required not only to master the Portuguese tongue, but to "apply to the languages of the country, that he might be able to instruct the Gentoos who shall be servants or slaves of the Company, or their agents, in the Protestant religion." Schoolmasters were likewise to be provided in every garrison and superior station. Towards the middle of the last century, while the East India Company were engaged in a struggle for

its existence on the Coast with the genius and resources of their French rivals, they appear to have taken increased interest in the efforts made for ^{Early patronage of missions.} the diffusion of Christian truth. In a despatch to Madras in 1752, they said, "and as a further encouragement to the said missionaries to exert themselves in propagating the Protestant religion, we hereby empower you to give them, at such time as you shall think proper, in our name, any sum of money not exceeding 500 pagodas, to be laid out in such manner and appropriated to such uses as you shall approve of. And you are hereby directed to give us from time to time an account of the progress made by them in educating children and increasing the Protestant religion, together with your opinion on their conduct in general, and what further encouragement they deserve."

After this period all reference to the encouragement of missionary labours ceases in the despatches from or to Leadenhall Street. In 1757, the battle of Plassey transformed the Company from merchants to sovereigns, and the factory of Calcutta became the capital of a great empire. Those who had for half a century crouched before the Nabob of Moorshedabad, and endeavoured to propitiate him by bribing his favourites, were now the masters of the country. They set up a Nabob of their own, and ruled with absolute sway over provinces larger than Great Britain, and inhabited by a population of thirty millions — and all desire to impart knowledge, secular or divine, to the people of India was at once quenched. Indeed, the repugnance of Government on both sides the water to all missionary or educational exertions seemed to increase as British influence became more extended, and facilities for doing good ^{Effect of political power on public morals in India.} were multiplied. The irresistible power which Government had acquired by its military success was employed only for the personal advantage of its public servants. A boundless field was suddenly opened before

them for the gratification of ambition and cupidity, and every thought was absorbed in the accumulation of wealth, without any qualms of conscience as to the mode of its acquisition. The allowances of the public functionaries in India were inadequate even to their decent maintenance, yet they were enabled to indulge in every species of extravagance, and to return to England with fortunes so colossal as to excite the envy of its landed aristocracy. The process of turning power into money, which had been practised in the East from time immemorial, was one of the first lessons which the new conquerors learnt, and the scenes of injustice and oppression which were daily exhibited, make us to this day blush for the degradation of the British name.

The Court of Directors could impose but a feeble check on these disorders. It was in vain that they investigated these disorders in India, and stated that "in the complicated scenes of corruption which had been revealed they found gentlemen who had served in the highest offices implicated, who had shown that no ties of honour could control that unbounded thirst for riches which pervaded the whole settlement, and threatened a dissolution of all government." It was in vain they denounced the avarice of their servants, who had acquired vast fortunes by "the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country." Their authority was despised and their orders set at nought by the ingenuity and audacity of their servants abroad. Parliament was at length required to interpose its authority to check these crimes; and a Royal Court was established at Calcutta, in 1774, to protect the natives from oppression. By this time the first harvest had been reaped. The richest fruit of the pagoda tree, according to the cant of the day, had been shaken down, and the rapid and profligate creation of ambitious fortunes had subsided. Still the weakness and distraction of the Government, and the strength of the English character,

Character of
English society
in India.

acting on Asiatic timidity, afforded ample opportunities for amassing wealth. Twelve years after the passing of the Regulating Act, as the Act of 1774 was denominated, Sir John Shore stated that he could have realised 10,000*l.* a-year if he had not been burdened with a conscience. At the same time, the number of English ladies in the country was lamentably small, and the virtuous influence of female society was scarcely felt in the mass of society. In the days of Warren Hastings the arrival of a spinster from England was an event, and it was inaugurated by a succession of balls.* The great bulk of the Europeans, both in and out of the service, lived unmarried with native females, and their leisure was spent in the most debasing associations. The young civilian was told that one of his first duties was to "stock a zenana," and his mistress was facetiously said to be the best moonshee in the country. Major Stanhope, writing in 1774, said that the "luxury of a large seraglio was reserved for those who were high in the service, and received large emoluments." The influence of Christian principle was almost extinct in European society. Those who had disregarded all the sanctions of Christianity found no difficulty in disbelieving its Divine origin, and a deadly taint of impiety pervaded the whole community. At the same time, the degrading idolatry of the natives was regarded with complacency, even when it was not affirmed to be equally acceptable to the Deity with the homage of Christian worship. Any idea of disturbing the "religious prejudices" of the natives was regarded with a feeling of repentment. For a quarter of a century after the battle of Plassey, Calcutta presented a scene of such unblushing licentiousness, avarice, and infidelity as had never been witnessed before under the British flag. England had subdued Bengal, and Bengal had subdued the morals of its conquerors.

During the mercantile period of the Company's career, it was rarely that any of their Indian servants sought admission into the Direction on their return to England,

and, during the first half of the last century, it is difficult to discover the names of any civilians on the Board. But

Gradual change
in the Court of
Directors.

when an Indian appointment opened the path to rapid fortune and distinction, a seat in the Direction became an object of competition.

Those who had amassed fortunes in India naturally coveted a position which enabled them to send out their sons and relatives to pursue the same career of aggrandisement. The Direction became crowded with "old Indians;" and though they might have accumulated wealth by less objectionable means than those who got up revolutions at Moorshedabad simply to gratify their own avarice, they brought home with them not the less the prevailing indifference to Christian truth, and a respect for the superstitions of the natives, and a resolute determination not to allow them to be disturbed by fanaticism. It was at a time when this Oriental and Brahminised element was preponderant in the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors, that the clause regarding the encouragement of missionaries and schoolmasters was inserted in the new Charter. If a petard had suddenly burst in the midst of that body, it could scarcely have occasioned greater consternation. It appeared to their bewildered minds as if the British empire in India must melt away as soon as the ministers of improvement touched its shores, and the

The Directors
reject the mis-
sionary clause.

"old Indians" determined to seize the first opportunity of suppressing the clauses. It was ascertained that they emanated from the "saints," and not from the Board of Control; and it was whispered that Mr. Dundas had given a reluctant consent to Mr. Wilberforce's resolutions, and that many of those who had been prevailed on to vote for them, only wanted a decent pretext for voting them out of the Bill. On the 22nd of May a ballot had been taken on some unimportant occasion, and the next day there was a kind of General Court held, but without advertisement, for the simple object of receiving the report of it. Advantage was taken of this

circumstance to bring on a discussion in the absence of many who would have strenuously supported the clauses. There was but one friend of Mr. Wilberforce's present, Mr. Thornton, and the enemies of Missions and of education had the field entirely to themselves. It is worthy of special notice that all the most violent speakers consisted of men who had passed their lives in India.

Mr. Lushington, who had accumulated a large fortune in India, opened the debate by stating his objections to the whole of the clause respecting sending out missionaries to India. He supported his objections by arguments drawn from his own personal observations, and "corroborated by that of every gentleman who had resided in India, with whom he had conversed on the subject. If the conversion of the natives to Christianity was the object, nothing could be more extravagant than such a hope; every possible means had been used by Catholic priests without success; because the religion of the natives was too deeply rooted to admit of change." He said he had hoped the age was become too enlightened for an attempt to make proselytes, and that, in this country in particular, such policy had long been exploded. As to the sending out of missionaries and schoolmasters, whom he styled adventurers, he said he did not think young gentlemen fresh from the University, with habits considerably pleasurable and morals not the most rigid, who would go to India with ideas of acquiring wealth in some way or other, much calculated to increase the respect due to our holy religion; he thought they ought to be from thirty to forty years of age; but the clause seemed to him so dangerous in every point of view, that he hoped it would be resisted *in toto* as a measure likely to affect the peace and ultimate security of our possessions. Mr. Thornton, on the part of Wilberforce, defended the clause, and endeavoured to set the Proprietors right regarding its object. He said that Mr. Wilberforce wished to provide for the good of the

Debate in the
Court of Pro-
prietors.

natives of India, and that instilling the virtuous and moral principles of the religion of the Church of England into their minds was the most probable means of effecting so desirable a purpose. Mr. Thornton disclaimed, on his own part, and on that of his honourable friend, any idea of making proselytes of the Indians, or sending missionaries to overrun the country with a view of obtaining converts. At the same time, if any of the natives should be willing or desirous of having the benefit of instruction, which could be given them by Protestant missionaries and schoolmasters, he thought it perfectly wise to give them an opportunity of obtaining that benefit; and in case they should of their own accord choose to enter into the communion of the Protestant Church, that the means of receiving them might be provided. Mr. Lushington then rose and renewed his attack on the clause, as impolitic, unnecessary, and unlimited in point of expense. He thanked God that if the conversion of the natives was the avowed object of the clause,—as he believed it to be its real though concealed aim,—the effecting it would be a matter of impracticability. He was fully convinced that suffering clergymen, under the name of missionaries, or any other name, to overrun India, and penetrate the interior parts of it, would in the first instance be dangerous, and prove utterly destructive of the Company's interests, if not wholly annihilate their power in Hindostan; that so far from wishing that they might make converts of ten, fifty, or a hundred thousand natives of any degree of character, he should lament such a circumstance as the most serious and fatal disaster that could happen. What was more strongly a common cause with mankind than holding one faith and professing the same religion? The moment that event took place in India, there was an end of British supremacy. Mr. Thornton said, in reply, that he so far differed from Mr. Lushington, that if ten, fifty, or a hundred thousand natives should be converted, he valued

our religion so highly as to deem such conversion a happy circumstance.

The views of other Directors and Proprietors were also drawn forth in the course of the debate. Mr. Henchman, one of the most bustling and influential men in the Court, reprobated the proposal, and said that no other converts could be expected but some of the very dregs of the people—men who had no sincerity, and who cared not what religion they affected, provided it served their interest for the moment; and that the attempt to convert the natives could only in producing disturbances, or in bringing the Christian religion into contempt. Mr. Montgomery Campbell, who had been in the civil service at Madras, and witnessed the success of Schwartz and his fellow-labourers, but without allowing himself to believe its reality, said that the attempt to make converts of the heathen was most absurd and impracticable; that none but the dregs of the people could be made to profess themselves proselytes, but they were a worthless set of beings; that the higher and more respectable natives were men of the purest morality and the strictest virtue. Mr. Bensley said, that so far from approving of the clause, or listening to it with patience, from the first moment he heard of it, he considered it as the most wild, extravagant, expensive, and unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator. Mr. Randle Jackson said, that wherever he was, he had always the interest of the Company at heart; that the clause was so obnoxious in principle that it ought to be resisted; that one of the leading and most efficient causes of the separation of America from England, as the mother country, was the founding of Colleges and establishing seminaries for education in the different provinces; and he entirely concurred with his honourable friend Mr. Henchman, that sound policy dictated that we should, in the case of India, avoid and steer clear of the rock we had split on in America. Mr. Prinsep said, it had been his lot to spend

the greater part of his life in the interior of India, and that "he knew from experience that to expect to make converts of the natives was an idle, absurd, and impracticable object, and that the only possible way of effecting such a purpose would be by doing that which he was persuaded the Company would never countenance, viz., by purchasing the children of the poorer natives, and educating them in the principles of the Protestant faith; but that so adverse was he to the clause that sooner than acquiesce in it he would give up the Bill altogether." A resolution was passed with eager haste condemning the clause, and the Directors who were members of the House were requested to appear in their place and vote against it.

Such were found to be the sentiments of those who were entrusted with the government of India, when the question of imparting secular and religious knowledge to its inhabitants was brought under discussion for the first time since the establishment of the empire. The enjoyment of power all but unlimited had produced the usual effect of extinguishing every generous emotion, and creating feelings of the most intense selfishness. The proposal to enlighten the natives of India was reprobated by an overwhelming majority, simply because it was supposed to be incompatible with the maintenance of their own power and privileges. The natives of India were to be kept in a state of perpetual ignorance, and denied the means of mental advancement, that England might be enabled to hold the country without trouble, and monopolise its trade, and drain its revenues. Every idea of proselyting the people—that is, of giving them the ennobling truths of the Bible in exchange for the fables of the Poorans—was pronounced to be too absurd for so enlightened an age. If the speakers had objected to Mr. Wilberforce's proposal that it seemed to imply the employment of missionaries under the agency of Government, which was repugnant to

Reflections on
these proceed-
ings.

the sound policy of neutrality, the argument would have been unanswerable. But the objection was directed against every attempt which might be made in the cause, by private individuals, totally unconnected with the State. The Court of Directors were at this time invested with absolute power to exclude or to banish from India any one who contravened their wishes, and from their decision there was no appeal. The resolution thus passed at the India House was therefore equivalent to the entire exclusion of Christian truth and secular knowledge from India during the continuance of the Company. It was on this unworthy principle that the India Authorities acted during the currency of the Charter, then about to be given for twenty years. It was against this stern and implacable opposition to all missionary efforts that Mr. Carey and his associates were called to struggle till the year 1813, when, under the influence of more enlightened views, Parliament took the question of these Missions into its own hands and opened India to the Gospel. To complete this view of the feelings and sympathies at the India House, it is useful to state that only five years before this time the Court of Directors, in the hope of establishing a commercial intercourse with the Grand Lama, had directed the Governor-General to inform him that they were prepared to build a temple of worship on the banks of the Ganges for the pilgrims of that nation who might resort to the river to bathe. They were at this time drawing a revenue from the idolatrous shrine at Gya. Farther, within a month after the Court had resolved to close India against Christian truth, they sent out their approbation of the plan of establishing a College at Benares for the cultivation of the laws, literature, and *religion* of the Hindoos. The Court was so struck with the "policy and liberality" of this institution, as to sanction a subscription of 1400*l.* a year towards its maintenance; and they directed that each native professor should be required to compose a lecture on the subject of his department annu-

ally, and that an English translation of them should be regularly transmitted to the Court. Whether these lectures on the divinity of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva ever reached the India House does not appear.

The clause, thus vehemently opposed at the India House, was not inserted in the Charter Act. When the

Bill came up for its final reading in the House of Commons, Mr. Wilberforce strongly advocated the cause. Mr. Charles Grant, writing

to a friend in India, said, "I was in the gallery of the House when the question came on, and had one melancholy pleasure, that of seeing Mr. Wilberforce in the face of that House stand forth as the bold, zealous, animated and able champion of Christianity, and of the propriety and duty of communicating its blessings to our heathen subjects. But the success was less than the cause and his eloquence deserved." Mr. Dundas paid a compliment to Mr. Wilberforce, whose humanity and principles he equally admired and respected, but said that he had difficulties respecting this clause, not because he was less anxious than its honourable mover to promote so beneficent a purpose, but because he was doubtful whether the means proposed of sending chaplains, and schoolmasters, and missionaries to promulgate secular knowledge and the true religion among the natives of India, would answer the important end proposed. The Hindoos, though a timid and innocent people, had in every age been singularly bigoted in their religious prejudices, and he doubted whether any system of proselytism would answer the end. He said he would not lose sight of the object, but, on the contrary, would endeavour to obtain the fullest information of the means by which it could be most practically effected. If the House would, therefore, agree to omit the clause, he was ready, on a future occasion, to give it every consideration which its importance required. Mr. Fox objected to the whole measure, because he considered all schemes of proselytism as wrong

Clause lost in
the House of
Commons.

in themselves and as productive in most cases of mischief. The clause was, therefore, withdrawn. But that "future occasion" for considering the clause, with the promise of which Mr. Dundas induced the House to ignore its former vote—that "more convenient season"—never came, and the design of promulgating useful knowledge and true religion in India was left, for twenty years, to the mercies of Leadenhall Street. Mr. Wilberforce records in his journal, that the effect of the opposition of the East India Directors was soon seen in the altered tone which Mr. Dundas assumed on this question, and he adds, "My clauses thrown out. Dundas most false and double, but, poor fellow! much to be pitied. The East India Directors and Proprietors have triumphed; all my clauses struck out last night on the third reading of the bill (with Dundas's consent!). This is honour." When the bill came before the Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London spoke in behalf of the interests of religion in the East; but the Bishop of St. David's questioned the right of any people to send their religion to any other nation. The Lords did not restore the clause; and Mr. Wilberforce particularly complained that the Bishops, as a body, gave him no support.

Thus fell to the ground the "grand scheme" of the Mission to Bengal, which originated in the zeal and benevolence of Mr. Grant. The support of Government was considered indispensable to its success, and that support was peremptorily refused.

Defeat of the
Mission scheme
of Mr. Grant.

It was not under the auspices of Bishops, and Archbishops, and Ministers of State that the Gospel was to be introduced among the natives of Bengal, but through the humble yet energetic efforts of an obscure denomination. It was while these abortive attempts were made to enlist the support of the great in the cause of Missions, and to establish it "by might and by power," that the small and unpretending association was formed among the Baptists at Kettering, and Mr. Carey was preparing to embark for

Calcutta, in the face of every discouragement. The circumstance is thus gracefully alluded to by Mr. Grant in a letter written thirty years after: "Many years ago, I had formed the design of a Mission to Bengal, and used my humble endeavours to promote the design. Providence reserved that honour for the Baptists."

We return to the proceedings of the Society at Kettering.

CHAP. II.

MR. THOMAS, on his return to England in 1792, renewed his intercourse with the eminent Baptist ministers in London, with whom he had maintained a correspondence in Bengal, and more especially with Mr. Booth and Dr. Stennett, and endeavoured to obtain their support for the establishment of an Indian Mission. The stately Dr. Stennett was in frequent communication with Mr. Charles Grant, and had received an unfavourable impression of Mr. Thomas's character from him, which served to confirm his desire that the denomination should not be committed to a wild missionary scheme. Mr. Booth was slow to credit Mr. Thomas's reports of a favourable opening for exertion, and held aloof from the scheme, but was converted into a warm advocate of it by a singular coincidence. While Mr. Thomas was one day at his house, the Rev. John Campbell, who was afterwards known as the distinguished missionary traveller in Africa, called on him, and when the conversation turned on Malda, inquired whether the stranger had ever, while in India, heard of a Mr. Thomas, a surgeon, who had been preaching to the natives in that country. He had heard of him through one of the bishops in Scotland, whose enthusiastic friend at Malda was always "pestering him with accounts of the success of the gospel there." Mr. Thomas, after a few remarks, said, "I am the man." Mr. Booth's hesitation was at once removed by this unexpected corroboration of Mr. Thomas's statements, and he became from that time forward a strenuous supporter of the missionary enterprise. On hearing of the formation of the Baptist Mis-

Mr. Thomas's
introduction to
the Baptist Mis-
sionary Society.

sionary Society at Kettering, Mr. Thomas addressed a letter to Mr. Carey, stated the efforts which had been made among the natives of Bengal, and described in glowing terms the prospects of success at Malda. The letter was read at the third meeting of the Committee, and Mr. Carey advised his brethren, if possible, to combine their exertions with those of Mr. Thomas; and Mr. Fuller, who was about to visit London, engaged to make inquiries respecting him. At that meeting the committee published their first public address, and announced the object of the Society to be "to evangelise the poor dark idolatrous heathen by sending missionaries into different parts of the world where the light of the glorious Gospel was not at present published." The address then recapitulated the efforts which had been made, with various degrees of success, by the Danish missionaries on the coast, the Dutch in the island of Ceylon, the apostolic Elliott in North America, the Presbyterian society in Scotland, the zealous Brainerd, and the Moravians. It concluded with this exhortation, "Let every Christian who loves the Gospel, and to whom the souls of men are dear, come forward in this noble work." Mr. Fuller's inquiries in London regarding Mr. Thomas proved satisfactory; and at a meeting of the committee on the 9th of January, 1793, which was prolonged to the evening, it was resolved that "a door appeared to be open in India for preaching the gospel to the heathen, and that Mr. Thomas be invited to unite with the Society, who would endeavour to procure an assistant to accompany him." Mr. Carey immediately rose and offered his services.

Mr. Carey's
services are
accepted.

While the committee were in deliberation, Mr. Thomas himself was unexpectedly announced, and, on his entering the room, Mr. Carey, impatient to embrace his future colleague, sprang from his seat, and they fell on each other's neck and wept. Mr. Thomas candidly explained to the committee the circumstance of his disagreement with Mr. Grant, and placed the corre-

spondence before them. He likewise informed them that he had sent home an investment from India, which had been sold below its actual value, owing to the dulness of the market, and left him 500*l.* in debt. This was a most disheartening fact; but Mr. Thomas's character appeared to be so ingenuous, and his integrity so manifest, that the determination of the committee was not shaken, and it was resolved that he and Mr. Carey should proceed to Bengal in the spring.

A new difficulty, however, now arose. When the subject of proceeding to India was mentioned to Mrs. Carey, she declared that she would never consent to quit her native land. A voyage to India at that period was considered, even in educated circles, a far more formidable undertaking than at the present time. It was regarded in the light of a perpetual banishment from home; and it is scarcely matter of surprise that Mrs. Carey, who had never been beyond the limits of the county in which she was born, should have shrunk from the prospect of accompanying her husband to so distant a country with four children on a project in which she had no sympathy. Mr. Carey, therefore, had before him no other alternative than that of relinquishing an enterprise dear to him as life itself, or of embarking without his family. But his resolution was not to be shaken. After long deliberation he considered it his duty to proceed to India at once; taking with him his eldest son, with the intention of returning for his wife and family as soon as the Mission was established. Three months after, while detained at the Isle of Wight, he expresses his feelings to his wife, of whose confinement he had then heard, in language equally marked by conjugal affection and Christian principle:—"You wish to know in what state my mind is. I answer, much as it was when I left you. If I had all the world I would freely give it to have you and my dear children with me, but the sense of duty is so strong as to overpower all other

Reluctance of
Mrs. Carey to
accompany him.

considerations. I could not turn back without guilt on my soul." But after the infant society had engaged, in the ardour of their feelings, to send out two missionaries to India, they found that their zeal had outrun their resources. Their funds were inadequate to the expenses of the voyage. Mr. Thomas was therefore obliged to traverse the country to raise subscriptions, and he met with many rebuffs, but he had a fund of enthusiasm and good humour which carried him through the task. Mr. Fuller also came up to London, and canvassed the members of the Baptist churches from door to door; but the majority of them gave him a cold reception, and he frequently retired from the more public streets into back lanes, that he might not be seen to weep over his want of success. By begging and borrowing, the sum required was at length complete, and the missionaries were to be designated to their work. The farewell ser-

Farewell ser-
vices.

vices were held at Leicester, on the 20th of March, when Mr. Fuller delivered an address to Mr. Carey and Mr. Thomas in language so fervid that the remembrance of it served in no common degree to sustain and animate their minds when they came to encounter the practical difficulties of the work after their arrival in India. He dwelt with great effect on the objects they were to keep in view, the directions they were to follow, the difficulties they would be called to encounter, and the reward they might expect. He concluded the address in this strain, "Go, then, my dear brethren, stimulated by these prospects. We shall meet again. Each, I trust, will be addressed by our great Redeemer, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father — these were hungry, and ye fed them; athirst, and ye gave them to drink; in prison, and ye visited them; enter ye into the joy of your Lord.'"

The important question now came up how they were to reach India. It was hinted to Mr. Fuller that any application which might be made at the India House for a license to embark for Calcutta would be rejected; but he was

anxious that the missionaries should not be smuggled out, without the permission of the Court of Directors. He fancied that the rulers of British India would be but too happy to encourage such independent efforts to impart religious instruction and the benefits of civilisation to their native subjects — an idea which the gloomy experience of the next twenty years effectually dispelled. To meet Mr. Fuller's wishes, Mr. Pearce went to London, with Mr. Thomas and Mr. Carey, to inquire whether it would be prudent to apply to the Court of Directors for a missionary license. They could not have fallen upon a more inauspicious conjuncture. The storm of indignation which had been raised at the India House by Mr. Wilberforce's resolutions was then raging with the utmost fury; and they were soon convinced that every hope of obtaining leave for two missionaries to go out to Bengal in one of the Company's vessels must be at once abandoned. An attempt was made to interest the Rev. Thomas Scott, now chaplain at the Lock Hospital, in this missionary enterprise. The modest lad whom he had last seen in his shoemaker's apron at Hackleton now waited on him in London to state that he was going out as a missionary to the heathen, and to ask the aid of his influence with Mr. Charles Grant, who was supposed to possess much weight in Leadenhall Street. Newton, the patriarch of the evangelical section of the Established Church, also spoke to Mr. Grant on behalf of Mr. Thomas and Mr. Carey; but he peremptorily refused to give any countenance to Mr. Thomas, and a perusal of the correspondence, which had passed between them, will fully justify the refusal. But he said that if Mr. Carey were going out alone, or with a suitable associate, he would give all the assistance in his power. He likewise stated to Mr. Newton that he should be happy to see Mr. Carey, but from accidental circumstances the interview never took place; and these two eminent men, who had for five years been making concurrent efforts, in different spheres,

Mode of embarking for India discussed.

unknown to each other, for the establishment of a mission in Bengal, never met.

There now appeared to be no prospect of a license, and it was determined that the missionaries should go without one. Mr. Thomas's friend, the commander of the "Oxford" Indiaman, with whom he had made two voyages in the capacity of surgeon, offered to take them without leave, and the whole party proceeded to the Isle of Wight to wait the arrival of the vessel. But Mr. Thomas was 500*l.* in debt, and his creditors, learning that he was about to quit the country, pursued him with their writs. The period of his residence in the island was passed in humiliating contrivances to elude the bailiff. On the approach of a stranger Mr. Thomas fled the house, and did not venture to return till his colleague came out to assure him that the danger was past. Mr. Carey's honourable feelings were deeply wounded by the disreputable position of his companion, and his mind revolted from the idea of commencing a mission to impart to the heathen the superior morality and sacred hopes of the gospel in such associations. But the die was cast, and Mr. Thomas was his missionary colleague. At length the vessel hove in sight, and they hastened on board with their luggage. But they had not long been on the vessel before the commander received an anonymous letter from London, stating that an information was about to be laid against him at the India House, for taking out persons without the permission of his masters, and contrary to their express orders. The captain had no sooner read the letter than he insisted on their quitting the vessel without a moment's delay. No importunity could prevail on him to relent; his commission was at stake. With a heavy heart they unshipped their baggage and proceeded to Ryde. Mr. Carey was at first inclined to suppose that the letter came from one of Mr. Thomas's creditors. But if the fact of his being on board the "Oxford" was known in London, his creditors might have arrested him without any difficulty. There is

Embark on the
"Oxford," and
are expelled from
her.

little reason to doubt that the letter originated in the commotion raised at the India House by Mr. Wilberforce's resolutions, and that the information of the risk the commander was about to incur came from a friendly hand. As soon as Mr. Carey was on shore, he wrote to Mr. Fuller, under feelings of deep distress, but not of despondency. He stated that their plans were frustrated "for the present;" adding that, however mysterious might be the leadings of Providence in this instance, ~~he~~ he had no doubt they were superintended by an infinitely wise God. Even the indomitable spirit of Mr. Fuller was staggered by this unexpected blow. "We are all undone," he writes to Dr. Ryland; "I am grieved; yet perhaps 'tis best. Thomas's debts and embarrassments damped my pleasure before. Perhaps 'tis best he should not go. I am afraid leave will never be obtained now for Carey or any other,—and the adventure (the supplies in goods for their support) seems to be lost. He says nothing of the 250*l.* for the voyage. 'Tis well if that be not lost."

It was doubtless all for the best that they were thus prevented from going to Calcutta in the "Oxford," which was one of the Company's own vessels. The rule which prohibited the resort of Europeans, Resort of unlicensed Europeans to India prohibited. not in the public service, to India, though it originated in feelings of commercial jealousy, had been rendered more stringent in the days of the empire than it ever was in the days of the factory. When the East India Company existed only as merchants, they had been armed with authority to exclude interlopers; but in a spirit of laudable moderation, they had ordained that no European should be sent home, unless "the fault was of a notorious character, such as assisting our enemies, or openly striking at our privileges." But, in 1783, parliament thought fit to pass an act of extraordinary severity against the resort of unlicensed Europeans to India, and ordained that, "if any subjects of his majesty, not being lawfully licensed, should at any time repair to or be found

in the East Indies, such persons were to be declared guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and be liable to fine and imprisonment." The Court of Directors, however, mitigated the penalty of the crime, and limited it to simple deportation. In India, moreover, the local government had passed an order in 1789, obliging every commander of a vessel arriving in India, to deliver to the pilot, who took charge of her at Saugor, a faithful return of all the passengers on board, stating whether they were in possession of a license from the India House to resort to India, or not. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that, if Mr. Carey had proceeded to India in the "Oxford," or any other vessel belonging to the Company, the Governor-general, in compliance with the laws in force, would have ordered him immediately to quit the country.

Mr. Thomas, on being expelled from the vessel, hastened to London, in the hope of discovering the writer of the letter, and inducing him to recall it. But he was unsuccessful, and returned to Portsmouth, where he found Mr. Carey in tears at a sight which, a short time before, would have filled him with ecstasy—the whole fleet getting under way and sailing for India. Mr. Carey was in a state of the greatest excitement. One moment he determined to go out to India overland; then, he resolved to proceed forthwith to the India House, avow his object, and seek permission to embark in one of the Company's vessels. With a firm conviction that some path would open to him, he left his luggage at Portsmouth, and went up with his colleague to London, to consult the friends of the Mission regarding their future course. Mr. Thomas, with his usual activity, went to the various coffee-houses in the City, in the hope of hearing of some foreign vessel bound to India. After a long and fruitless search, one of the waiters at the Jerusalem Coffee House put a card into his hand, stating that a Danish East Indiaman was to be

Their proceedings on being expelled from the vessel.

heard of at No. 10, Cannon Street. He hastened to the office, and found that the vessel referred to had already sailed from Copenhagen, and was daily expected in the Downs, on her way to Calcutta. But the terms damped his ardour, 100*l.* for each adult, and 50*l.* for each child. That night, Mr. Carey and Mr. Thomas went down to Northamptonshire, partly to endeavour to raise funds, and partly to make a last effort to persuade Mrs. Carey to accompany them. She still appeared inflexible, and her husband left her in despair; but Mr. Thomas returned to the struggle, and she at length yielded to his importunity; though not till after he had alarmed her by the solemn assurance that, if she persisted in resisting the proposal, she would have cause of repentance as long as she lived. Mr. Carey was delighted with the prospect of being accompanied by his family; but as Mrs. Carey had stipulated that her sister should go with them, this large addition to their party served, on the other hand, to increase their pecuniary difficulties. The passage-money required by the agent would now amount to 600*l.* Small as this sum may appear in the present affluence of missionary resources, the committee could not command it, though the commander of the "Oxford" had refunded 150*l.* Mr. Carey, however, was resolved not to lose this golden opportunity. Within twenty-four hours after his wife had consented to embark with him, he had made arrangements for the disposal of his little property, which did not yield more than 18*l.* 10*s.*, and he was on his way to London with his whole family in two post-chaises. In London he was authorised to raise as much money as could be obtained on the guarantee of the Society, and Mr. Booth and Dr. Rippon cheerfully assisted him to the full extent of their credit; but after every exertion, the sum at their disposal fell short of the exigency.

Mr. Thomas once more proceeded to the office, and informed the agent that they formed a large party, consist-

ing of four adults and four children, while the sum they had been able to raise did not exceed 300*l*. With that generosity of spirit which served in some measure to redeem the inconsistencies of his character, he proposed that the whole party should occupy only two cabins; that only two of their number, Mr. and Mrs. Carey, should dine at the cuddy-table; and that Mrs. Carey's sister and he should be rated as attendants, and take their meals at the servants' mess. These terms, though very inadequate, were accepted, and on the 13th of June, 1793, the whole party embarked on the "Cron Princessa Maria," a Danish vessel manned with Danish and Norwegian sailors, but commanded by Captain Christmas, an Englishman, who had assumed this name on being naturalised in Denmark. Mr. Carey found him gentlemanly in his deportment, and kind and considerate beyond expectation. On the first day of the voyage he refused to allow either Mr. Thomas or Mrs. Carey's sister to absent themselves from the table, and assigned them separate cabins, treating them with as much distinction as if they had paid the full rate of passage-money.

The voyage, which was varied by no incident, was rendered agreeable by the uniform urbanity of the commander. Mr. Carey employed his time in studying Bengalee under Mr. Thomas's tuition, and in assisting him in the translation of the Book of Genesis, by his own knowledge of the original. As he sailed up the Bay of Bengal, and approached the scene of his labours, his mind seemed to expand with the contemplation of the great missionary field which was presented on all sides. In writing to the Society he remarks: "Africa is but a little way from England, Madagascar but a little farther. South America, and all the numerous and large islands in the India and China seas, I hope will not be passed over. A large field opens on every side. Oh, that many labourers may be thrust out into the vineyard of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the Gentiles may come to the knowledge

They obtain a passage in a Danish vessel.

of the truth as it is in Him." The whole party landed in Calcutta on the 11th of November. As the "Cron Princessa" was a foreign vessel, and had cleared out from a foreign port, the commander was not, it is supposed, required to deliver a list of his passengers to the pilot, or, there may have been neglect on the part of the pilot; at all events, Mr. Carey and Mr. Thomas entered the town without being molested, or even noticed. They immediately rented a house, where both families resided together. Ram-bosoo, one of Mr. Thomas's hopeful inquirers, soon found out the missionaries, and Mr. Carey engaged him as a moonshee. The little knowledge which he had acquired of English made his services the more acceptable to one who was totally ignorant of Bengalee, and the amiableness of his character became a source of pleasure amidst the strange associations of a foreign land. The funds brought out for the support of the missionaries had been invested in goods, which was then considered the most advantageous mode of remittance; and the sale of them was necessarily confided to Mr. Thomas, who had been dabbling in trade for ten years, and was supposed to understand the Calcutta market. Here, on the threshold of their undertaking, their difficulties commenced. Mr. Thomas was not only unthrifty, but disposed to extravagance. With the sums realised from the sale of the goods, he set up a more expensive establishment than their resources would justify. The money vanished as rapidly as it came in. They had no letter of credit on any house of business. The committee at Kettering had neither the knowledge of business, nor the funds necessary for such a provision.

Before Mr. Carey had been a month in the country, he felt it necessary to seek some cheaper locality, and he removed to Bandel, about two miles above the town of Hooghly, once the emporium of Bengal. At Bandel is still to be seen the neat Roman Catholic church and convent erected more than two cen-

Mr. Carey removes to Bandel, and then to Manicktolah.

turies and a half ago, the oldest edifice of Christian worship in the Bengal presidency. It was while residing at Bandel that Mr. Carey was introduced to Kiernandier, then eighty-four years of age, who lived on a small pension at the neighbouring Dutch settlement of Chinsurah. But Bandel was too much in the neighbourhood of Europeans to be adapted to that plan of missionary labour which Mr. Carey had been contemplating. It afforded him no opportunity of accommodating his habits of life to native economy, which he had been led to consider the most effectual mode of obtaining access to the people. Mr. Thomas's report had led him to think of the country around Malda as the most desirable sphere of missionary labour, but there appeared to be no facilities for reaching it. He proceeded, therefore, in the first instance, in company with Mr. Thomas, to Nuddea, where they resided a few days, and established a friendly intercourse with the pundits at that great seat of learning, and were invited to settle among them. "We seemed inclined to do so," writes Mr. Carey, "as it is the bulwark of Hindooism, which, if once carried, all the country must be laid open to us." But they returned, after a brief sojourn, to Calcutta, where Mr. Thomas found that a London creditor had sent out one of his bonds to be enforced. His friends advised him to settle in the town, and resume his professional occupation, assuring him that this was the surest means of appeasing his creditors—he was also in debt in Calcutta—who were likely to be less clamorous if he made some visible effort to meet his obligations. He accepted their advice, and engaged a house and set up a large establishment, without reference to the necessities of his colleague. In these distressing circumstances Mr. Carey was indebted for shelter to the generosity of an opulent native, who offered him the use of a small house he possessed at Manicktolah, in the southern suburb of Calcutta. Into that wretched and ill-ventilated house Mr. Carey removed his family of seven persons in the

beginning of 1794. It is pleasing to record that, twenty years after this event, when Mr. Carey had attained an influential position in Calcutta, this native gentleman, who had in the meantime met with heavy reverses of fortune, was placed by him in a situation of ease and comfort.

The distress to which Mr. Carey was now reduced was more severe than he had experienced during the previous twenty years of his life, in which he had been struggling with difficulties. His mind required ^{Mr. Carey's distress.} all the support which could be derived from a firm reliance on the promises of Scripture to prevent his being overwhelmed with despondency. He was in a foreign land, with a large family, and without a friend or a farthing. His colleague had inconsiderately wasted their joint resources, and was living at the rate of 300 or 400rs. a month on funds borrowed from a native at exorbitant interest. Mr. Carey was cut to the quick by the discontent of Mrs. Carey, who had accompanied him to India with extreme reluctance, and felt no sympathy in his labours. She upbraided him with the distress to which she and her family were reduced by yielding to his solicitations, and contrasted Mr. Thomas's luxuries with their destitution. Frequently, after having walked ten or twelve miles through the town, he returned to his wretched hovel only to encounter the invectives of his wife and her sister. Thus deprived of the conveniences which are necessary to the European constitution in a tropical climate, she and two of her children were attacked with dysentery, from which they recovered but slowly. Driven almost to distraction by this accumulation of troubles, he resolved, if possible, to borrow 500rs. and retire to the Soonderbuns, and erect huts for himself and his family, depending for subsistence on the cultivation of the ground. He had been informed that land could there be obtained rent free from government for a lengthened period. He went to Mr. Thomas for advice and for money, but found that every farthing was expended, and that he was again in

debt. "I am," he writes to England, "in a strange land, alone, with no Christian friend, a large family, and nothing to supply their wants." A second application on the 15th of January produced the same disappointment. Five days after he was offered the occupation of an old bungalow in the Soonderbuns till he could obtain a suitable residence for his family, but he could not remove to it for want of funds.

The Rev. David Brown had formerly taken an interest in Mr. Thomas's labours, and in his extremity, Mr. Carey

determined to call on him to obtain advice and possibly assistance. He waited on him on the 24th of January, but without any satisfactory result.

Mr. Carey calls on Mr. David Brown. "He is an evangelical minister of the Church of England," writes Mr. Carey, "and received me with cold politeness. I found him a very sensible man, but a marked disgust prevails between him and Mr. Thomas, and I left him without his having asked me to take any refreshment, though he knew I had walked five miles in the heat of the sun." Such conduct on the part of the generous and hospitable David Brown could be attributed only to the calamity of Mr. Carey's being associated with Mr. Thomas, whom he regarded with feelings of incurable mistrust. Amidst all this distress, however, Mr. Carey never relaxed the prosecution of the great work which had brought him to India. With Ram-bosoo as his companion and interpreter, he visited the places of public resort in Calcutta, day after day, to explain the gospel message to the people. At home, he was unrenitting in his application to the Bengalee language, and in his attempts to revise the rough translations of the Bible which Mr. Thomas had begun. At length he succeeded in obtaining a small supply of money from him, and, on the 4th of February, embarked in boats for the wilderness. As his future colleague, Mr. Ward, has happily expressed it when subsequently visiting the spot, "Like the father of the faithful, he went out not knowing whither he went." He was obliged to pursue a circuitous route, which prolonged

the journey, and he had provisions only for a single day left, when he perceived a European on the bank of the river at Dehatta, a village about forty miles from Calcutta, with a gun in his hand following his sport at a little distance from his bungalow. This was Mr. Short, an assistant under government in the salt department. Mr. Carey left the boat and walked up to the house with all his family, and explained his present circumstances and the object which had brought him to the country. He was welcomed by the owner with great cordiality. Like the generality of Europeans then in India, Mr. Short was destitute of any religious impressions, and he was utterly unable to comprehend Mr. Carey's mission to convert the natives, which he frankly said appeared to him in the light of a wild and impracticable scheme; but he manifested that generous spirit which has always distinguished the English character in the East, and has made "Indian hospitality" a proverbial expression. He invited Mr. Carey to make his house his home for six months, or for a longer period, till he could provide suitable accommodation for his family. Soon after, Mr. Carey proceeded to the opposite bank of the river to a place called Hasnabad, and began to erect what he called his "huts" His abode in the Soonderbuns. for his family in a tract of land cleared of the jungle which he had obtained. In his letter to England from this spot, he says, "Wild hogs, deer, and fowl, are to be procured by the gun, and must supply us with a considerable part of our food. I find an inconvenience in having so much of my time taken up in procuring provisions, and cultivating my little farm. But when my house is built, I shall have more leisure than at present, and have daily opportunities of conversing with the natives, and pursuing the work of the Mission."

To those who have not resided in the lower parts of Bengal, it may be useful to explain that the Soonderbuns consist of a vast tract of jungle, facing the Bay of Bengal, and stretching from the Pudma on the east, to the

Hooghly on the west, over an area of more than 6,500 miles. This region was formerly filled with hamlets and towns, and a rich cultivation; but during the decay of the Mahomedan power, had been ravaged and depopulated by the Mugs from the neighbouring province of Aracan. It was now a dense and deadly forest, inhabited only by wild beasts. Small parties of wood-cutters annually resorted to it, to fell the trees and supply the metropolis with fire-wood. Here and there, patches of land had been cleared, as at Dehatta, for the manufacture of salt, and villages had arisen at intervals; but the scanty population was always exposed to the visits of tigers, who had, in a few days, carried off more than twenty from the neighbourhood in which Mr. Carey had now taken up his residence. It was in this region of jungle and tigers and miasma, apart from all civilised and Christian associations, ~~that~~ Mr. Carey now planted the hopes of the Mission. It was, of all places, the most unfavourable for the development of missionary plans, and he would probably have sunk under the attacks of fever as soon as the rains set in. From this fatal position he was rescued by a most providential turn of events. During Mr. Thomas's residence in India, Mr. George Udny, of the Company's civil service, a man of genuine Christian benevolence, had taken an interest in his missionary labours, and united with Mr. Grant in contributing to his support; but was at length obliged, through the waywardness of Mr. Thomas's conduct, to relinquish all connection with him. Mr. Udny was, at this time, commercial resident at Malda, the sphere of Mr. Thomas's former labours. His brother and his brother's wife were drowned by the upsetting of a boat in crossing the river at Calcutta, and his family was plunged into a state of the deepest distress. Mr. Thomas, on hearing of this melancholy circumstance, resolved to renew his correspondence with Mr. Udny, though they had parted in anger, and wrote a letter of condolence, in which he stated that the first impulse

of his mind was to start for Malda, and offer the family, and more particularly, Mr. Udney's aged mother, all the consolation in his power. Mr. Udney met him with corresponding generosity, and, mindful only of their former friendship, gave him a cordial invitation to Malda, offering to defray all his expenses. Mr. Thomas immediately quitted Calcutta, dropping his professional prospects, which were not very bright, and hastened to Malda, where he experienced the most hospitable reception. Mr. Udney had been engaged for several years in the manufacture of indigo, and was in need of assistants to superintend two of his factories. One of these posts he offered to Mr. Thomas, who accepted it with delight.

Soon after this event, Mr. Thomas brought to Mr. Udney's notice, the solitary and forlorn position of his colleague in the Soonderbuns, who had come out as a missionary to the heathen, and Mr. Udney ^{Mr. Carey's removal to Madrasbatty.} authorised him to offer the management of the other factory to his friend. The letter reached Mr. Carey on the 1st of March. His thoughts had always turned to a residence in the Malda district, and he was not long, therefore, in determining to accept a proposal which rescued him from the jaws of starvation, and opened to him the prospect of extensive usefulness, more especially as the large establishment of native servants and labourers connected with the factory would afford shelter and subsistence to any who might embrace Christianity. No sooner had he accepted Mr. Udney's offer, than he considered it his duty to write to the Society in England, and state that he was no longer in circumstances to need any personal support; he likewise requested that the sum which might be considered as his salary, should be devoted to the printing of the Bengalee translation of the New Testament. "At the same time," he adds, "it will be my glory and joy to stand in the same relation to the Society as if I needed support from them, and to maintain the same correspondence with them." The committee of

the Society had been enlarged in number since Mr. Carey's departure, and, as usual, had become more contracted in its feelings. It now included men of smaller minds than those who determined to begin a mission to the heathen on 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and who had so nobly responded to Mr. Carey's offer to go out to any part of the world as a missionary. The whole sum which the committee remitted to India between May, 1793, and May, 1796, for the support of two missionaries and their wives and four children, was only 200*l.* Yet these men, who had left their generous-hearted missionary so destitute in a foreign land, on hearing that he had accepted the charge of an indigo factory, upbraided him with "allowing the spirit of the missionary to be swallowed up in the pursuits of the merchant," and passed the following resolution, "That, though, on the whole, we cannot disapprove of the conduct of our brethren in their late engagement, yet, considering the frailty of human nature in the best of men, a letter of serious and affectionate caution be addressed to them." To these ungenerous suspicions and this redundant admonition, Mr. Carey replied in a tone of subdued indignation, "I can only say, that after my family's obtaining a bare allowance, my whole income—and some months, much more—goes for the purposes of the Gospel, in supporting persons to assist in the translation of the Bible, in writing out copies of it, and in teaching school. I am indeed poor, and shall always be so until the Bible is published in Bengalee and Hindoostanee, and the people want no further instruction."

Mr. Carey reached Malda on the 15th of June, 1794. The next day being the Sabbath, he preached his first English sermon in India in the Company's factory hall, to a small and attentive audience of sixteen. The factory of Mudnabatty, of which

Mr. Carey's occupations at Mudnabatty.

Mr. Carey now undertook the superintendence, was about thirty miles north of Malda, while that of Mr. Thomas was at the village of Mypaldiggy, about sixteen miles farther

north. In that quiet seclusion, free from pecuniary anxieties, Mr. Carey passed more than five years of his life, and was thus enabled to prepare himself for that more extended and important sphere of usefulness which was afterwards unfolded to him. Mr. Udny informed him at their first interview that his monthly allowance would be 200 rupees, in addition to which he would receive a commission on all the indigo that was manufactured. Of this income, he was enabled, by rigid economy, to devote a fourth, and often a third, to missionary objects. The establishment at the factory consisted of about ninety natives who formed his regular congregation, and he constantly itinerated among the villages around him. No sooner had he obtained a settled habitation than his active mind was turned to the improvement of agriculture, and in one of his first letters to England he requested Mr. Fuller to send him out implements, scythes, sickles, and plough wheels, together with an annual supply of garden and flower seeds, and seeds of different trees. "I will regularly remit the money to you; it will be a lasting advantage to the country, and I shall have an opportunity of doing this for what I may now call my own country." His time was systematically apportioned to the management of the factory, the study of the language, the translation of the New Testament, and addresses to the heathen. The factory of Mudnabatty was, however, in an unhealthy locality, and Mr. Carey was, in September, prostrated by a severe fever, which at one time threatened his life. But while he was spared for future usefulness, one of his younger children was carried off by dysentery, which so deeply affected Mrs. Carey's mind as gradually to deprive her of reason, and from that time to the day of her death, it was necessary to keep her under restraint.

The year 1795 opened with large projects of usefulness struck out by Mr. Carey's enthusiastic feelings. He had commenced a native school in the previous year, but he found that the poverty of the parents constrained

them to remove their children before they had begun to derive much benefit from instruction. To meet this difficulty he proposed to feed, clothe, and educate a limited number, giving them tuition in Sanskrit, Persian, and Bengalee, and instructing them in various branches of useful knowledge, and in the doctrines and duties of Christianity. But the time had not arrived, nor was Malda the place, for so extensive an institution. In August, his attention was turned to the duty which must soon devolve on him, of printing the Bengalee translation of the New Testament. He was inclined at first to send to England for a fount of types, but he relinquished the design, on learning that they might be

Mr. Carey prepares to print his translation.

First printing in Bengalee.

obtained in the country itself. The first Bengalee types ever used in India were those employed in 1778, in printing Halhed's Bengalee Grammar at a press in Hooghly, of which no record now remains. The punches for the fount were prepared by Mr. (afterwards Sir. Charles) Wilkins the eminent Orientalist, who, under the patronage of Warren Hastings, first unlocked the treasures of Sanskrit lore to the literati of Europe by the translation of the Bhagvat Geeta. Mr. Wilkins was a member of the civil service of the East India Company, but so great was his anxiety to promote the interests of Oriental literature that he instructed himself in the art of punch cutting, and cut a set of Bengalee punches with his own hands, after he had been six or seven years in the country. He likewise gave instruction in the art which he had acquired, to an expert native blacksmith of the name of Punchanon, through whose labours it became domesticated in Bengal. The next notice which exists of the printing of any work in Bengalee was that of the admirable code of Regulations drawn up by Sir Elijah Impey, which became the basis of all subsequent legislation. These Regulations were translated into Bengalee by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, eventually Governor of Bombay, after he had been little more than two years

in the country, and they were printed at the "Company's press" in 1785. The great Cornwallis Code of 1793, translated into simple and idiomatic Bengalee by Mr. Foster, the most eminent Bengalee scholar till the appearance of Mr. Carey, was likewise printed at the government press, but from an improved fount. It was to this fount that Mr. Carey, alludes, and it continued to be the standard of typography till it was superseded by the smaller and neater fount prepared at Serampore.

It was in the year 1795 that the Missionary Society, which afterwards took the more specific designation of the London Missionary Society, was formed in London. It was a large and comprehensive association, intended to embrace and concentrate the efforts of those sections of the Christian church which were in accord on the subject of baptism. One of the most eminent men of the day describes it as "the large new London Society, formed chiefly by Dissenters of various denominations and irregular Churchmen." The members of the Independent denomination formed the sinews of the Society, and on them the task of perpetuating and enlarging its operations has since devolved. The torch of this Society, as one of its founders gracefully admitted, was lighted at the missionary altar which the Baptists had raised. It was Mr. Carey's communications which kindled this flame, and became the immediate occasion of organising a missionary agency, which, during the last sixty years, has been second to none in zeal and efficiency. The Rev. Dr. Bogue and Mr. Stephen happened to be in Bristol when Dr. Ryland received the first intelligence from Mr. Carey and Mr. Thomas after their arrival in Bengal. Dr. Ryland had previously made Mr. Bogue's acquaintance, and, under the impulse of his feelings, sent a messenger to request him and his friend to come and hear the letters read. After listening to this report of the first proceedings of the missionaries, they knelt down and prayed for a blessing on their labours, and then retired to their own residence and

discussed the question of forming a society in their own connection. They then called on Mr. Hey, a gentleman of great weight in the city of Bristol, and having received the promise of his support, sent a communication to the "Evangelical Magazine." Soon after a meeting was convened in London, and the London Missionary Society was established.

A few months after the formation of the London Missionary Society, an effort was made by Mr. Haldane, one of its warmest supporters, to go out to Bengal and plant a Mission there. Mr. Haldane was the descendant of an ancient and distinguished family in Scotland, and inherited large landed property, to which he had retired after a career of honourable service in the royal navy. The perusal of the first number of the Periodical Accounts, the journal of the Baptist Missionary Society, which contained an account of the labours of Mr. Carey, produced so powerful an effect on the mind of Mr. Haldane, that he determined to sell the valuable estate of Airthrey, which he had been employed for ten years in beautifying, and to devote the proceeds to the support of his Mission. Ample funds were provided for the undertaking by this noble and disinterested sacrifice, and three of his friends, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Bogue, Mr. Innes, and Mr. Greville Ewing, animated with the same impulse, consented to accompany him to India. It was also intended to take out a well-equipped printing-office, and a staff of catechists, itinerants, and school-masters. When the arrangements were completed, application was made to the Indian authorities for permission to embark for India. Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, was a family connection of Mr. Haldane, and had known him from his childhood. Mr. Haldane addressed him on the subject of the enterprise with a manly frankness, candidly stating his object, and asking the assistance of his position. Four months appear to have been passed in attempts to obtain the necessary permission to proceed to India, and at the end of this time

Mr. Wilberforce came up to London and used all the influence he possessed with the ministry on Mr. Haldane's behalf, but it was all to no purpose. Both Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Haldane were baffled by the diplomacy of Cannon Row. It has been surmised that Mr. Haldane's extreme political opinions stood in the way; but he neither felt nor had expressed any democratic opinions; and if he had, in embarking in the Mission, he renounced politics; but it is certain that if he had been as pure a Tory as Mr. Dundas himself, he would not have been allowed to go out to India and establish a Mission. Mr. Dundas's feelings on the subject of Indian Missions coincided with those of the India House, though he never went so far as to say, as one of the Directors was reported to have said, that he would rather see a band of devils in India than a band of missionaries. When Mr. Haldane applied to the Court of Directors for permission to proceed to India, he received a very complimentary reply and a very peremptory refusal. The Court were convinced of the sincerity of his motives and appreciated the zeal which had led him to sacrifice personal convenience "to the religious and moral purposes described in his letter;" but then the Court had "weighty and substantial reasons which induced them to decline a compliance with his request;" and so this noble scheme fell to the ground.

The hostility of the Court of Directors to the settlement of Europeans in India became more intense as their dominions became more extended. One of the most eminent members of the Court, writing on this subject in the present year to a friend in India, describes the Indian system in one comprehensive sentence:—"The present system is to govern our vast Indian possessions, and conduct our immense Asiatic trade by one national organ, the India Company." India was in fact the preserve of the Corporation, and no subject is more frequently reiterated in the despatches of the India House than the unalterable determination of the Directors to prevent the intrusion of interlopers, and to keep their

Hostility of the East India Company to the settlement of Europeans in India.

own countrymen aloof from their dominions. Licenses were granted with great caution and reserve; the emigrant was required to state distinctly the occupation he intended to follow, and the local authorities were instructed to send him back if he was found to have deviated to any other vocation. In 1793 the Court renewed their orders for the expulsion of all unlicensed persons. "If any person," they say in their despatch, "presume to go to India, and appear within your jurisdiction without a license, we require you forthwith to deal with him as an unlicensed trader, and send him home before he can make such an establishment as may be an excuse for time being allowed him to prepare for his return." Still, there were hundreds of Europeans residing in the interior of the country without a license, and any attempt to send them back to England would have brought an overwhelming storm of obloquy on the India House. The Governor-General, Sir John Shore, who fully participated in the feelings of his masters at home, advised them in 1795 not to permit more than five or six, or at the farthest ten, free merchants—or free mariners as they were then called—to proceed to India in any one year. At the same time he issued an order, directing every unlicensed European in the country to enter into "covenants" with the government, and to find securities for the performance of them in sums varying from 500*l.* to 2000*l.* This requisition placed all the Europeans in India at the mercy of government, notwithstanding the existence of an independent Crown Court in the metropolis. This was considered a very oppressive proceeding, and Mr. William Fairley, one of the leading merchants in Calcutta, refused to sign any covenant, and dared the government to deport him. "But these big words," remarks Mr. Carey, "cannot be uttered out of little mouths." It is due to the Company and to the government of India to state that the extraordinary powers with which they were thus armed were used with the most exemplary moderation, and that during the next ten

years, only two Europeans were sent out of the country, and they were men of the most turbulent disposition. Under this new order, Mr. Carey was returned as an indigo planter, residing in the district of Malda, and Mr. Udney and another friend stood his securities.

Towards the close of 1796, Mr. Fountain joined the Mission at Mudnabatty. He went out in one of the Company's ships, rated as a servant, and entered Calcutta without observation, and obtained Mr. Fountain joins Mr. Carey. friendly assistance from Mr. Udney and Mr. Brown to enable him to proceed up the country. He was a man of small stature and small mind; he possessed no energy of character, and added little to the strength of the infant cause. He applied himself with earnestness to the study of the language, and in due time was able to address the natives with some degree of fluency. Before he left England he had caught the contagion of that democratic frenzy which the French revolution had diffused, and adopted sentiments hostile to the existing institutions of government. On his arrival in India, though living under the most despotic form of government, he had not the prudence to repress these views, but in the intercourse of society, and in his letters to England, indulged in the most virulent and contumelious remarks on the constituted authorities both in India and in England. His expressions would in all probability be considered tame at the present period of unrestrained freedom, but they were culpably imprudent in the circumstances in which he was placed. The local authorities were morbidly sensitive of any strictures on their personal character or public acts, and they possessed the power of summary deportation without appeal, and every individual living in India by sufferance, was therefore required to be prudent in the extreme in his conversation and correspondence. Mr. Fountain had indulged in sneers at the Honourable Company in his letters, and it was found that many of them had been opened at the Post Office. Mr. Fuller became alarmed for the consequence;

he had never been touched by the republican mania of the day; the Mission was the one absorbing object of his thoughts and his solicitude, and he reprobated what he considered Mr. Fountain's folly in the most determined language in a series of letters spread over several years, from which we give some brief extracts. "We confide in Mr. Fountain for the most peaceable and prudent conduct in his whole deportment. The principles which you" — he was writing to Mr. Carey—"avowed in your last letter might be printed as the missionary creed. 'Whatever be my ideas of the best or worst modes of civil government, the Bible teaches me to be an obedient and peaceable subject.'" "Mr. Fountain's letter has filled us with disgust. It appears to us to be not only unaccountably imprudent, but utterly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, as well as to his own solemn engagements. It is as mean and as contrary to good manners as it is to Christianity to be throwing squibs against any *order of men*." Writing to Mr. Fountain himself, he says: "Is it wise that you should hazard, perhaps the existence of the Mission, for the sake of sneering at the King or the Honourable Company? We are required by the New Testament to pray for all that are in authority; but this we cannot do without mockery, unless we bear *good will* towards them, and that in their *official* capacity; and it is written, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of thy ruler or rulers;' but to deal in sarcastic reflections on them is the worst kind of evil speaking, and is utterly inconsistent with the practice of Christ and his apostles. You say you are not ignorant of men in India who are dissatisfied with the Company; and I am not ignorant of many in England who are the same with the government, and who, I believe, would not only be glad to see things reformed, but utterly overturned; but I never give encouragement to such talk, much less join in it. I am not an old man, but I have lived long enough to perceive that nine out of ten who are clamorous for liberty, only wish for a share *in the power*."

Follow them into private life, and you will find them tyrants to their wives, children, servants, and neighbours. I have observed also that those ministers who have been the most violent partisans for democratic liberty, are commonly not only cold-hearted in religion, but the most imperious in their own churches. Now, whatever fault I may see in the government of my own country, I had rather live under it than under such kind of liberty as I should have reason to expect from such characters." "If you are so infatuated with political folly as not to be able to write a letter to England without sneering sarcasms against government, cursing monopolies, expressing the hope of revolution work going on, &c., I must say, once for all, it is my judgment that the Society, much as they esteem you in other respects, will be under the necessity of publicly disowning you. Brother Fountain, you have been playing so long at the mouth of the cockatrice's den, that he seems to you harmless. Spare thyself; or, if you have no regard for yourself, spare that cause which is worth thousands of such lives as yours and ours." In the last letter on the subject, in writing to Mr. Carey, he says, "If these notions continue in Mr. Fountain, and that spirit which has hitherto distinguished many of his letters, and more especially his journal, it will be, as blessed Pearce expressed it, a cankerworm at the root of his religion, as well as a millstone about the Mission. O my dear Carey! my soul is cast down within me on his account. I will take his letters and journals to the committee, and they must proceed as they think proper; but if such things are permitted to continue, I say again, I must relinquish my post."

Mr. Carey's secular position and prospects were now become precarious. During the three years in which he had superintended the factory, it had not flourished. The locality had been selected by native agents, and without judgment, and was found to be ill-adapted for the manufacture of indigo. A succession of poor seasons had subjected Mr. Udny to

Mr. Carey's factory not flourishing.

severe loss; he was obliged to carry on the works with borrowed capital, for which he was required to pay exorbitant interest, at a time when the government itself could not raise funds under twelve per cent. He now contemplated the necessity of relinquishing the factories, and Mr. Carey, in stating this fact to the committee, remarked that he might shortly be left without any independent income. Mr. Fuller's influence appears again to have been in the ascendant; and the committee responded to Mr. Carey's intimation in a spirit of generosity, which served to obliterate the remembrance of their former littleness. On the 29th of August, 1797, they passed the following resolution:—"That our brethren having in a disinterested manner declined their ordinary income from us at a time when they thought they could do without it, and various unforeseen circumstances having since occurred, which render it necessary that we should afford them substantial assistance: Resolved, that at this time we will pay them those arrears which, for a time, they have voluntarily declined, and that the mode of future subsistence be left to the discretion of Mr. Carey." But the prospect of being left without support did not abate Mr. Carey's missionary zeal. In the letter to the society, in which he mentioned the probability of his being left destitute, he said not a word regarding the renewal of his salary, still less about the payment of arrears, but advised the Society "to set their faces earnestly towards India."

Mr. Carey proposes a Moravian settlement.

He proposed to form a missionary settlement in the neighbourhood of Malda, after the model of the Moravians. "We ought," says he, "to be seven or eight families together; and it is absolutely necessary for the wives of the missionaries to be as hearty in the work as their husbands;" a remark dictated by the bitterness of his own experience. "Our families should be considered nurseries for the Mission; and among us should be a person capable of teaching school, so as to educate our children. I recommend all living

together in a number of little straw houses forming a line or square, and having nothing of our own, but all the general stock. One or two should be elected stewards to preside over the management, which should, with respect to eating, drinking, worship, working, learning, preaching excursions, be reduced to fixed rules." He estimated the expense of eight families, if living distinct, at 1000rs. a month, but if in common at 400rs.; that is, 50rs. a month for each family; adding that the produce of the land would lessen even that, and probably reduce the demand on the funds of the society to 30rs. He assured Mr. Fuller that all his calculations might be depended on, yet nothing could be more baseless. The primitive simplicity of his plan is a pleasing index of his zeal and disinterestedness, but it is no proof of his judgment. Such a settlement could not have held together for a twelvemonth. Even if his straw houses and mud floors had not sent half the little community to the grave during the first rainy season, the inconceivable distress to which the European missionaries and their European families must have been subject in such a settlement, must have broken it up almost as soon as it was formed. It will serve to show how little India was known at that time in England, that a project so utopian was not only received by Mr. Fuller with approbation, but that he determined to give it a practical exemplification, and that four missionaries were sent out immediately after to make an experiment of this Moravian settlement.

In the letter which embodied these crude and impracticable notions, Mr. Carey informed the society that the translation of the New Testament—on which he had been labouring since his arrival with intense devotion—would be completed before his letter reached England, and that the expense of printing 10,000 copies at the rates then prevalent in Calcutta would be 43,750rs., a sum which was completely beyond his own means. He proposed at first to obtain punches from

Mr. Carey prepares to print his translation.

Caslon, the eminent letter-founder in London, and he calculated that the cost of each punch would be only five shillings, not knowing that the price of a punch was a guinea. He requested the society to send out a press and paper, adding that if "a serious printer could be found willing to engage in the Mission, he would be a great blessing. Such a printer I knew at Derby before I left England." At the beginning of 1798 it was announced in the papers that a "letter foundry had been established in Calcutta for the country languages;" but all trace of the author or the result of this project has been lost, except the fact that the punches were cut by the workmen whom Sir Charles Wilkins had trained up. Mr. Carey immediately placed himself in communication with the projector of the scheme, and relinquished all idea of obtaining Bengalee types from England. Soon after a printing press, constructed of wood, was advertised for sale in Calcutta, and Mr. Carey immediately purchased it for 40*l.*; but Mr. Udny insisted on paying for it himself, and presenting it to the Mission. It was conveyed to Mudnabatty, and set up in a side room, and the crowds of natives who flocked to see it, hearing Mr. Carey's description of its wonderful power, pronounced it to be a European idol.

During the year 1797 Mr. Charles Grant printed the first treatise which had as yet appeared on the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the natives of India. At the close of the India debate in 1793, Mr. Dundas had engaged to bring forward in the succeeding year Mr. Wilberforce's missionary clauses, which had created so violent a ferment, if he consented to their being withdrawn from the bill. But, as in the case of the slave trade, the repugnance to the consideration of the subject was only augmented by delay. Mr. Grant, who consoled himself for his disappointment by the fond reflection that a great point had been gained by the simple existence of the original resolutions on the

Mr. Charles
Grant's treatise
on Indian im-
provement.

records of the House, found that the battle of Indian improvement had to be fought inch by inch with most determined opponents. He was therefore unremitting in his exertions to press the subject on the attention of influential men; but where he did not encounter opposition he was met with indifference. In 1794 he was elected one of the Directors of the East India Company, and was thus enabled to ascertain more accurately the sentiments of his colleagues regarding his proposal, as well as to urge it on their consideration. But in his letters to India he spoke in a desponding strain of his prospects. "The scheme which I mentioned to you for extending the Gospel in the East has as yet no additional supporters. . . . Neither is the public state of things favourable for pushing our Mission scheme in any public channel; and Mr. Wilberforce, who is the leader in that line, has rather lost ground lately with his ministerial friends by moving for peace. . . . Many among the Directors and proprietors differed from me in politics and religion; and many such there were who had been on the Indian scene, who were the indulgent apologists, at least, of the forms of superstition prevalent in India. This last habit I ascribe partly to real ignorance of the nature and evidence of Christianity, and partly to prejudices imbibed from infidel writings and conversation." He was determined, at length, to bring the subject directly under the notice of the Directors, and he printed a few copies of "Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals and on the means of improving them." In that work he collected into one point of view the various notices which had been published by a succession of writers, and the observations he had personally made on the moral and religious degradation of the natives. He then urged with great earnestness the duty of raising their condition by giving them an English education, of opening to them the

sources of European knowledge, and of communicating to them the ennobling truths of the Bible.

This plan was introduced to the notice of the Directors in an address, in which Mr. Grant stated, that "in earlier periods the Company manifested a laudable zeal for extending, as far as its means went, the knowledge of the Gospel to the Pagan tribes among whom its factories were placed. It has since prospered and become great in a way to which the commercial history of the world affords no parallel, and for this it is indebted to the fostering and protecting care of Divine Providence. The duty, therefore, of the Company, as part of a Christian community, its peculiar superadded obligations, its enlarged means, and its continual dependence on Divine favour, all call on it to honour God by diffusing the knowledge of that revelation which he has vouchsafed to mankind." The work was presented to the Court of Directors, and also to Mr. Dundas, who assured Mr. Grant that he would give it a serious perusal when he had any relief from the pressure of public affairs. That relief came only with his retirement from office, and from power, three years after. Among the Directors, the plan of sending the Gospel to the natives of India still excited so much angry resistance that Mr. Grant was fain to withdraw the treatise from observation. It remained unknown to the public till it was disinterred at the India House in 1813 by order of Parliament, and printed among other Indian documents, when it contributed in no small degree to that auspicious resolution by which the gates of India were unlocked for the entrance of the Gospel. The elevated views embodied in that treatise are now the standard and motive principles in the administration of our Indian empire, and to recede from them would be considered as preposterous as to revive the slave trade; and it is therefore an act of simple justice to offer a tribute of grateful admiration to the memory of the distinguished individual who braved the scorn of his colleagues by his

It fails to produce any immediate effect.

manly advocacy of them. Mr. Grant sent a copy of the work to Mr. Fuller, who remarks in a letter to Mr. Carey on the subject: "In reading Mr. Grant's book, I was wonderfully struck with the moral efficacy of Christianity. I had hitherto almost confined that effect to true believers, but I now see that the effect which it produces in the hearts of true believers is but a small part of it. It fixes the standard of morals by which the consciences of people in general are influenced. It also gives a tone to public opinion, which is a law of wonderful efficacy in society." Notwithstanding the repugnance of the Court to Mr. Grant's general views, they yielded so far to his solicitation as to grant permission in 1798 to the Rev. Tobias Ringletaube to proceed as a missionary to Calcutta. But it was only in consideration of the fact that this arrangement was in the "established line;" in other words, that it was a continuation of the privilege which the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had enjoyed from the Honourable the Court of Directors for a hundred years, and that the Mission was not to the heathen, that the license was granted.

Mr. Grant was as anxious to provide the means of religious instruction for the European residents in India as for the native idolaters. The number of chaplains at the Bengal Presidency did not at that time exceed six or seven. Two were

Mr. Grant's labours for the improvement of European society in India.

ordinarily stationed in Calcutta, and the rest at the principal garrisons in the interior. A hundred years before this period, the chaplains were required by act of parliament, and the rules of the India House, to study the native languages and impart religious instruction to the natives connected with the Company. But so completely had the religious element in the government disappeared, that at this time they were not required to perform divine service of any description for the Christian servants of the state. There existed no church at the Bengal Presidency except in Calcutta; at the other stations there was

no sermon, and not so much as any religious service. The labours of the chaplain were confined to his surplice duties of marrying, christening, and burying. Mr. Buchanan, an evangelical chaplain sent out by Mr. Grant with high expectations of usefulness, was appointed on his arrival to the military station of Barrackpore, within fourteen miles of Calcutta, and he acknowledged to Mr. Carey that he had never read the liturgy in public, because he had no church. Mr. Grant was anxious to provide a remedy for this disgraceful neglect, and repeatedly urged his friend Sir John Shore, after he had been appointed Governor-General, to make a vigorous representation on this subject to the India House and the Board of Control. But all that Sir John could be induced to recommend after repeated importunity was, that chapels should be erected at the three great cities of Dacca, Patna, and Moorshedabad, and at the military station of Berhampore, for the use and edification of Christians, and that a subordinate class of chaplains should be appointed to them at the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with salaries not exceeding 150 rupees a month. This proposal was acceptable to the Court of Directors, with the exception of the clause which related to the pay of the chaplains, which was rejected with much reason, as creating an invidious distinction. For the first time since the battle of Plassey the Court sanctioned the expense of building churches out of Calcutta; but "they were to be progressively erected, so as not to press too heavily on the public resources; and they were to be as plain and simple as possible, that all unnecessary expense might be avoided." None of these churches, however, were erected for another quarter of a century. But though there was no public service of any kind on the Sunday at any station in the country, there was no lack of horse races. In the despatch from the India House of the 25th of May, 1798, containing the concessions above-stated for the erection of churches, the court took a

general view of the state of morals among their own servants at the presidency. The despatch was drafted by Mr. Grant, who was so happy as to meet with the strongest encouragement from his colleagues in the Direction. It stated that "it was no uncommon thing for the solemnity of the Sabbath to be broken in upon by horse racing; and that they had then before them a printed paper from which it appeared that no less than eight matches were run at Chinsurah in one day, and that the Sabbath." The Directors say they were astonished and shocked by this wide deviation from one of the most distinguishing and universal institutions of Christianity, and they order that such profanation of the Sabbath be forbidden and prevented; that divine service be regularly performed at all the military stations; that all European officers and soldiers be required punctually to attend, and that if any chaplain neglected his duty, or by his conduct brought discredit on his profession, he be dismissed the service. The despatch went on to reprobate the vice of gaming, which had extended from the aristocracy of England to the public functionaries in India. For seventy years, the Court had laboured to eradicate this vice from their establishments with unabated zeal. At an earlier period they had ordered, that as an act of parliament had prohibited all gaming above 10*l.*, the same rule should be enforced in their settlements, and that any person, whether female or male, who was found to have gambled beyond that amount should be forthwith sent back to England. But the vice was not extinguished by these repeated prohibitions, and in the despatch of 1798 the Court were again called on to reprobate it, and to direct that "the promoters of such licentiousness should be peremptorily removed from office and sent to England."

Sir John Shore laid down the office of Governor-General in 1798, and returned to England. His official career in India was distinguished chiefly by that great financial measure, the decennial settlement of the land revenues of

Bengal and Behar, which, in spite of his remonstrance, was made unalterable and perpetual, and has entailed incalculable wretchedness on more than thirty millions of people for the last sixty years. He possessed great local knowledge of affairs and large official experience; but it was a great mistake to suppose that a good revenue officer must necessarily make a good Governor-General. His administration of five years was characterised by timidity, feebleness, and lethargy. He was imbued with feelings of the most genuine piety, and in his own conduct he exhibited a noble pattern of Christian virtue, but he effected nothing for the moral and intellectual improvement either of the country or the public service. Perhaps the Hindooism of the European community around him may have damped his feelings, but it is to be regretted that the most religious of all Governor-Generals should not have possessed sufficient strength of character to counteract it, and to pursue his own course of reform with resolution. On his return to England he was rewarded with an Irish peerage, as Lord Teignmouth, and on the formation of the Bible Society in 1804, he became its first president, where he was much more in his place, than at the head of the Indian government. His feeble rule was succeeded by that of one of the most energetic, able, and successful statesmen to whom the destinies of India have ever been committed. This illustrious nobleman, better known by his subsequent title of the Marquis Wellesley, the bosom friend of Mr. Pitt, the elder brother of the Duke of Wellington, whose genius he was the first to discover and foster, landed in Calcutta on the 14th of October, 1798. He had already distinguished himself in the English and Irish Parliaments, and now came out to create a reputation for the highest order of British statesmanship. On hearing of his appointment, Mr. Fuller advised Mr. Carey to wait on him, and avow his missionary vocation, and thus endeavour to establish the Mission upon a permanent basis. Mr. Carey's reply affords

Sir John Shore
quits the Govern-
ment of India. His
character.

Succeeded by
Lord Mornington.

a striking representation of the restrictions then imposed on the residence of Europeans, and the feelings which prevailed in the government circle regarding Missions. "The visit which you propose for us to make to the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, though proposed in the utmost simplicity of your heart, yet excited a little risibility in us. I wish I could make you understand a little about legal settlements, &c., but you must first drop your English ideas, and get Indian ones. No such thing as a legal settlement in the English sense can ever be made here, because a general law has been passed prohibiting Europeans from settling in the country. This general law cannot be reversed except by the British parliament. All Europeans, therefore, reside here only by connivance. Once a year the magistrate of every district has orders to make a return to government of all Europeans in his district, with their employments, and to state whether they have executed covenants or not. Were a person on this occasion to return himself as a missionary, it would be putting government to the proof, and obliging them to come to a point on the subject, whether missionaries should be allowed to settle in the country, or not; and there cannot be much doubt that it would be negatived. But when a person returns his name as a manufacturer, no suspicion can arise, if his conduct be good in other respects. I would not, however, have you suppose that we are obliged to conceal ourselves, or our work. No such thing. We preach before magistrates and judges, and were I to be in the company of Lord Mornington, I should not hesitate to declare myself a missionary to the heathen, though I would not on any account return myself as such to the Governor-General in Council."

It is necessary now to revert to Mr. Thomas's movements. It has been already stated that he was settled in March, 1794, at the factory of Mypaldiggy, thirty miles from Mr. Carey's residence at Mudnabatty. For three years he continued to labour

Mr. Thomas's
movements.

with great assiduity in preaching to the natives employed on the establishment, and to itinerate among the villages around him. But he was as usual unsuccessful in this secular undertaking; the returns did not cover the expense of manufacturing the indigo, and, after having suffered heavy losses, Mr. Udney was obliged altogether to abandon the factory. In 1797, Mr. Thomas appears to have removed to Calcutta. After residing there a few months, he proceeded to Serasing, at the foot of the Rajmahl Hills, with the view of establishing a mission among the mountain tribes, to whom Cleveland had given the rudiments of civilisation ten years before. This plan, however, was relinquished almost as soon as it was formed, and Mr. Thomas then hired a boat, and with his wife and daughter proceeded to the neighbourhood of Nuddea, where he obtained the lease of a piece of ground, and began to collect materials for erecting a house. For several months he continued to live in his boat, receiving the visits of the natives, to whom he administered medicine and medical advice gratuitously. In the morning and the evening he visited the villages, preaching to the people with his accustomed fervency, and during the day he attended to the multitudes who flocked to him from the surrounding country, and regarded him as the very incarnation of benevolence. He is next found at the French settlement of Chandernagore, from whence he writes to Mr. Carey: "I intend to go and sow the good seed from town to town, and village to village, making Chandernagore my head quarters." But this plan was also abandoned, and in April, 1799, he rented an indigo factory, in the district of Nuddea, and sowed the land, but a sudden rise of the river swamped his plant, and destroyed his prospects; and he determined to abandon all idea of again touching indigo, and to turn his attention to the cultivation of sugar. Having succeeded in raising funds, he established himself at a place called Etinda, in the district of Beerbhoon, and took charge of a

large sugar manufactory. Amidst these various fluctuations of plan, he was steady only to one object — the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen, and he never omitted an opportunity of addressing them, even though he himself might be the prey of despondency. His knowledge of medicine, and his assiduous attention to the poor and destitute, always secured him a large and attentive congregation, and he may justly be considered the first medical missionary to the heathen.

Mr. Carey had now been labouring in the barren soil of the Malda district for five years and a half. He had traversed it in every direction, and sown the “immortal seed” of the Word with untiring zeal, but without any corresponding success.

Mr. Carey
unsuccessfully
laboured for
nearly six years.

In describing his own feelings, he says, “I feel as a farmer does about his crop; sometimes I think the seed is springing up, and then I hope; a little time blasts all, and my hopes are gone like a cloud. They were only weeds which appeared, or if a little corn sprung up, it quickly died, being either choked with weeds, or parched up by the sun of persecution. Yet I still hope in God, and will go forth in his strength, and make mention of his righteousness, and of his only. I preach every day to the natives, and twice on the Lord’s day constantly, besides other itinerant labours.” The period of his residence at Mudnabatty was now drawing to a close; and, through a train of circumstances highly providential, he was about to be removed to a new sphere of labour, which presented a more ample scope for the development of his talents, and to be associated with colleagues of kindred energy. In the month of September, Mr. Udny was constrained to abandon the ruinous factory of Mudnabatty, and Mr. Carey was obliged to look out for another residence and occupation. Just at this time, he received intimation that the Society had accepted the services of two candidates for missionary labour, and that they were probably on their way to India, when he received the letter. About ten

miles from Mudnabatty, there* was a small outlying factory, called Kidderpore, and Mr. Carey purchased it of Mr. Udny for 300*l.*, and removed to it with his family, with the confident hope that it would yield him the means of subsistence. There he began to erect straw houses for his expected colleagues, and there he determined to carry out his design of a Moravian settlement. But Mr. Carey was one of the last men in India to render an indigo factory remunerative, if indeed he was able to manage any secular concern to advantage. He had invariably failed in every previous undertaking for more than twenty years. He had none of that aptitude for business which is indispensable to success, and if he had been left dependent on that little factory for the means of subsistence, he must have been reduced to starvation in the first year. If, moreover, the missionary labourers whom he expected, had proceeded to join him in that obscure and unhealthy locality, the establishment would speedily have been broken up. There was also another and more formidable difficulty, of which Mr. Carey was not then aware. Mr. Udny had been promoted to a higher appointment in Calcutta, and was about to remove from Malda, and the gentleman who had been appointed to succeed him there was as hostile to the propagation of Christianity as Mr. Udny had been favourable to it. He had gone so far as to inquire of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, whether Mr. Carey was not liable to a prosecution for some letter of his which had been published in England. He was dissuaded from this act of malignant folly; but he determined at all events to root out the missionary enterprise; and one hostile report to Calcutta would have been sufficient to accomplish this purpose. From these difficulties which must have proved fatal to the Mission, Mr. Carey was at once relieved by a new and unlooked for turn of circumstances.

The covenant into which Mr. Carey entered with government in 1797, as an indigo planter, secured him

from molestation for five years. Having thus for the first time, obtained a footing in the country he immediately applied to the Society for a re-inforcement of missionary labourers. "This Mission," he said, "should be strengthened as much as possible, as its situation is such as may put it in our power eventually to spread the gospel through the greater part of Asia. . . . Whether the Company will or will not molest us must be left to His care, without whose permission a sparrow does not fall to the ground; but that no human means for our safety may be wanting, I have entered into covenants with the Company, and have it in my power to engage in any line of business. Whoever comes out may be denominated an assistant to Mr. Thomas and myself on his first arrival; and as we are now permitted by the Company to live in the country, and trade therein, we may with boldness pursue any line of conduct that may be proper." This communication, which was dated in January, 1798, reached Mr. Fuller at the beginning of August. He fully participated in Mr. Carey's views, and was equally anxious to enlarge the field of missionary labour. He therefore lost no time in making diligent search for missionary recruits, and was successful beyond his highest expectations. It must not be overlooked that at this early period the missionary enterprise presented none of those attractions which are now associated with it. It was supposed to involve an interruption of all social and relative ties, and a perpetual exile from all the endearing associations of England. The receipt of a communication from India was an event which occurred only at long intervals, and a period of eighteen months often elapsed between the despatch of a letter and the arrival of a reply. About this time, Lord Wellesley had reason to lament that he had been seven months without any intelligence from England. Neither could the missionary, as at the present time, look for encouragement and support from large and influential associations,

Baptist Missionary Society
engage more
missionaries.

who watched his progress with feelings of deep sympathy; and it required a spirit of the strongest Christian faith and devotion to face the difficulties of this dreary and formidable enterprise. The first candidate for missionary work was Mr. Brunsdon, a member of the Baptist Church in Bristol, under the pastoral care of Dr. Ryland. He was accepted by the Society, and then placed under the tuition of Mr. Sutcliff, of Olney. Three months after, Mr. Ward, then residing at Hull, was introduced to a member of the committee, who happened to be on a visit to a friend there, and was induced to place himself in communication with Mr. Fuller, which led to an immediate engagement with the Society. In March, 1799, Mr. Grant, also a member of Dr. Ryland's church in Bristol, expressed a strong desire to engage in the Mission. He had imbibed those infidel principles which Paine had been diligent in disseminating, but was led to the adoption of Gospel truth by an accidental interview with Mr. Marshman, which ripened into friendship, and resulted in his conversion, and led to his embarking for India in the service of the Mission. After arrangements for the embarkation of these three missionaries had been completed, Mr. Marshman himself was induced, in some measure by the example of his friend Mr. Grant, to offer his services to the Society, and, though unknown to any of its leading members, with the exception of Dr. Ryland, was at once accepted. It was owing to Mr. Fuller's indomitable energy, that within nine months after the receipt of Mr. Carey's letter, announcing that missionaries might be introduced into Bengal as assistants in his indigo factory, without the hazardous avowal of their object to government, that four missionaries were sailing down the channel on their way to Mudnabatty. Mr. Grant and Mr. Brunsdon were men of great zeal and much promise, but as they were cut off in the dawn of their career, this brief notice of their devotion to the cause may be sufficient. Mr. Ward and

Four missionaries prepare to embark.

Mr. Marshman, who survived them, were associated with Mr. Carey soon after their arrival in India, in the establishment of the SERAMPORE MISSION, of which the present work is intended to be a record.

WILLIAM WARD was born at Derby on the 20th of October, 1769, and was the son of John Ward, carpenter and builder. His father died when he was a child, and the charge of his education devolved on his mother, a woman of superior parts and exemplary piety, an attendant on the ministry of the Methodists. It was to her affectionate solicitude and instructions that he was indebted for those religious impressions which preserved him from the usual dangers of youth, and served to mould his character for future eminence. He was placed under the tuition, first, of Mr. Congreve, and then of Mr. Breary, of Derby, and became proficient in the ordinary branches of school education; for the mental accomplishments which adorned his subsequent career he was indebted to his own unaided and indefatigable exertions. He was distinguished in childhood for sobriety and thoughtfulness. The time given by his playmates to recreation he devoted to reading, and he always appeared to have some intellectual pursuit in hand, which the friends of his family, as usual, considered a promise of future distinction. On leaving school, he was placed as an apprentice with Mr. Drury, who was at the head of a large printing establishment in the town. Mr. Ward soon rose to the grade of corrector of the press, which gave him an opportunity of storing his mind with various and useful knowledge. He was endowed by nature with a lively imagination and a pregnant wit; and by means of incessant reading and attempts at composition, gradually acquired great fluency and command of language. For these qualifications he soon found ample scope in the charge which he undertook at the close of his apprenticeship, of editing the "Derby Mercury" on behalf of his master. In the management of this journal, he ex-

Notices of Mr. Ward before his missionary career begins.

hibited such industry and talent, and gave it such popularity by the elegance of his pen, that he soon raised the circulation to fifteen hundred; and it became one of the most influential papers in the county. Mr. Ward, in the enthusiasm of youth, had imbibed that democratic feeling which the novelty of the French revolution, and the brilliant prospects of improvement with which it opened, had inspired in so many benevolent minds in England. He was led to join a political society in Derby, affiliated with the Parent Society in London, which Mr. Pitt was making the strongest effort to extinguish. For this association he drew up a series of rules, in which the defects of our own political institutions were exhibited with such vigour of language and bitterness of spirit, that they attracted the attention of the ministers of the crown, who ordered a prosecution to be commenced against one of the London journals in which they had appeared. The case was ably and successfully defended by Mr., afterwards Lord Erskine. Soon after Mr. Ward composed a political address, adapted to the revolutionary sympathies of the day, which was distinguished by the same talent and exhibited the same republican acerbity of feeling. It was honoured with a similar prosecution, and defended with equal success by the same forensic ability. After the verdict of acquittal had been delivered, Mr. Erskine, who was ignorant of the name of the author, stated that the paper was generally, and, he thought justly, attributed to the accomplished pen of Dr. Darwin, then residing at Derby. At a subsequent period, Mr. Ward, without the consent of the church, admitted Thelwall, the well-known democratic orator, into the Baptist meeting-house, to deliver a political lecture. The result was disastrous; the windows were broken by a mob; the lecturer and his audience were expelled with violence; and great odium was brought on the character of the denomination in the town.

After having thus written up the "Derby Mercury,"

and secured for it an unexampled share of patronage, Mr. Ward was induced to remove to Stafford, where he commenced another journal in connection with a member of Mr. Drury's family. He subsequently proceeded to Hull to undertake the editorial management of the "Hull Advertiser." Six years of the most important period of his life were thus passed in the active and animating duties of an editor, and he thus acquired an enlarged view of men and things, great facility of composition, and valuable habits of business, which proved of the highest advantage in his subsequent career at Serampore. Though, as a public writer, he had adopted at the time sentiments which, on more mature reflection, he was led to repudiate, he never prostituted his powers to the encouragement of political licentiousness. The journals he successively edited were distinguished by a high moral tone, to which, indeed, they were indebted for no small share of their success. The period of his editorial labours was contemporary with those noble efforts of Clarkson and his associates to organise public opinion against the iniquities of the slave-trade, which have at length resulted in the high and honourable distinction that slavery can never again exist in conjunction with the British flag. In the journey which Clarkson undertook through England, he called on Mr. Ward, at Derby, to enlist his journal in the cause of humanity. After that interview, Mr. Ward became one of the most earnest advocates of abolition, and improved every opportunity to hold up the atrocities of the trade to public detestation. Clarkson states in his history of the abolition, that "the people of England could not bear the facts which had been disclosed to them by the abridgment of the evidence." This fact was fully exemplified in the experience of Mr. Ward, who published extracts from the evidence, week after week, accompanied by his own remarks, till a large number of his subscribers informed him that they could no longer endure this weekly exhibition of

He edits the
"Derby Mercury"
and other
journals.

horrors, and must give up the journal unless he discontinued it.

His connection with the periodical press was now drawing towards a close. In August, 1796, he was baptized at Hull by Mr. Pendered, and began to devote his leisure to the instruction of the poor in the neighbouring hamlets. These labours introduced him to the acquaintance of Mr. Fishwick, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who is described as a man of good fortune, and great benevolence. He was charmed with Mr. Ward's warm and eloquent addresses, delivered often on a three-legged stool to his rustic congregation, and was anxious that these ministerial talents should not remain buried in obscurity. He accordingly placed Mr. Ward, at his own expense, under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Fawcett, the well known author of the "Treatise on Anger," and the tutor of Foster, the celebrated essayist. Mr. Ward removed to Ewood Hall, the residence of Mr. Fawcett, in August, 1797. After that time, he renounced all interest in politics and journalism, and gave his heart and soul to the nobler vocation of communicating Divine truth to his fellow-countrymen. So complete was his severance from all political associations from this time forward, that he, who had successively conducted three journals, and passed six years in the keenest editorial excitement, did not so much as take in a newspaper till after he had been ten years resident at Serampore. Even then, he was unwilling to burden the funds of the Mission with the cost of one, but made an arrangement to receive a copy of the "Morning Post," a weekly journal published in Calcutta, in return for his own poetical contributions. His feelings on exchanging politics for the Christian ministry are thus described by him. "I thought I had been fixed at Hull. I had a pleasant lodging facing the Humber, refreshed by its gales, inviting me to its banks, gratifying me by its passing current, and its stately barks. I was occupied in a situation in which I often indulged my pen and my

Enters on ministerial pursuits.

fancy to the satisfaction of my employers. I was surrounded by friends, on whose smiles I sometimes imprudently fed. My mind was calm, and I had some leisure for my friend and my books. Sometimes I walked with Eugenio to the country-house of a friend; and we cheered the hours of darkness with the tale of friendship. Sometimes I called on him for the evening walk; at other times we exchanged the friendly epistle; and, sometimes, I went into the villages, to gladden the hearts of my fellow men with good tidings of great joy. In the midst of these employments and pleasures, I received an invitation to go to Ewood Hall,—to leave Hull, perhaps for ever! Conscience commands me to go; to enter on a new line of life; to combat difficulties and prejudices; to be subject to the cavils of the bigot, and the frowns of the dissipated; to incur the displeasure of the mermaids of professors, half sinners, half saints; to live, perhaps, on thirty pounds a year; to warn men, night and day, with tears; to tremble, lest I myself should prove a castaway."

After Mr. Ward had been about twelve months under the tuition of Dr. Fawcett, a member of the Baptist Missionary Committee visited the educational establishment of Ewood Hall in search of missionary labourers to meet Mr. Carey's pressing request for additional aid. He conversed repeatedly with Mr. Ward on the subject of missions, and found him a willing listener. About five years before this time, Mr. Carey had been introduced to Mr. Ward, on the eve of his departure for India, and remarked, that if their labours were blessed with success, they should need an individual of his calling to enable them to print the Scriptures, and hoped he would consent to follow them. The remark was forgotten at the time; but was vividly recalled to Mr. Ward's recollection as he listened to the narrative of Mr. Carey's labours and the progress of the mission, and the completion of the New Testament in the Bengalee language. His missionary feelings, which had long been

He is placed under the tuition of Dr. Fawcett.

dormant, were now revived; "while he was musing, the fire burned;" and he determined to offer his services as a missionary to the society without delay, in the hope of being employed in printing the Scriptures. He addressed Mr. Fuller on the subject, and was invited to preach the next anniversary missionary sermon at Kettering. The visit resulted in his being accepted by the society. Soon after, he wrote to Mr. Carey, "I know not whether you will be able to remember a young man, a printer, walking with you from Rippon's chapel one Lord's-day, and conversing with you on your journey to India. But that person is coming to see you, and that person is the writer of this letter. His services were accepted by the society on the 16th instant. It was a happy meeting. The missionary spirit was all alive. Brother Pearce set the whole chapel in flame, and had missionaries been wanted, I should suppose we might have had a cargo immediately. Some time in the spring, I hope to embark with others. . . . It is in my heart to live and die with you, to spend and be spent with you. I trust I shall have your prayers that I may have a safe journey to you, and may be refreshed by your presence; and that God may make me faithful unto death, and give me patience, fortitude, zeal, and vital godliness enough for the great work." The next six months were passed in cultivating the acquaintance of the members of the committee, and laying the foundation of that affectionate and confidential intercourse with Mr. Fuller, which contributed so greatly to the success of the Serampore mission. Mr. Ward passed three months at Birmingham, supplying Mr. Pearce's pulpit. There was a congeniality of feeling and a unison of thought between these two distinguished individuals, which strengthened their mutual attachment. Few men have ever laboured in the Christian ministry with a more heavenly-minded devotion to the cause than Mr. Pearce. His character is exemplified in one of his own fervent exclamations:—"O! to be a Mercury, for ever

Offers himself as
a missionary.

rolling round and *near* the sun!" Mr. Ward thus describes his friend:—"Instead of being all froth and fume, you see in him a mind wholly given up to God; a sacred lustre shines in his whole conversation, always tranquil, always cheerful, always bearing about this truth, 'It is my meat and my drink to do the will of my heavenly Father.'" After alluding to his extraordinary exertions, Mr. Ward exclaims, "Here are the expandings of the soul of a Pearce! Great God, let us have a shower of them, that the earth may be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." In these indefatigable exertions, Mr. Pearce wore out his constitution in the course of ten years. He was at this time labouring under the disease which, a few months after, laid him in the grave, and deprived the missionary cause of a labourer second only to Mr. Fuller in ability, energy, and zeal.

JOSHUA MARSHMAN was born at Westbury Leigh, in Wiltshire, on the 20th of April, 1768. His family traced its descent from an officer in the parliamentary army, who retired into private life in Wiltshire, after Charles II. disbanded that body in 1660.

Early life and
pursuits of Mr.
Marshman.

Like his comrades, when deprived of all further hope of public employment, he betook himself to a useful trade; and his grandson, as a smith, realised what was then considered a little fortune, which he bequeathed to his only son at his death in 1720. This independence enabled him to indulge in idle and dissipated habits, and ensured his ruin. His wife was a woman of strong character, and had received a superior education. When abandoned by her husband, and reduced to destitution, she determined to support her family by her own labour, and at the same time apprenticed her son, John Marshman, the father of the Serampore missionary, to a weaver, at the age of twelve. But he was treated with such severity by his master, that at the end of three years he escaped to London, where, after suffering many hardships, he at length entered as a seaman on the "Viper," and then on the

"Hind," sloop of war. The "Hind" was sent to Canada, and he had thus an opportunity of being present at the capture of Quebec. After having been four years at sea, *he obtained his discharge, and returning to Wiltshire, settled at Dilton's Marsh, as a weaver of superfine woollen cloth, then the staple manufacture in that district. From the Marsh he subsequently removed to Westbury Leigh,* and became a member and deacon of the Baptist Church, which had been established there seven years after the Act of Uniformity had created dissent. In 1764, Mr. John Marshman married Mary Couzener, a descendant of one of the French refugees who obtained shelter in England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. She was a woman of great piety and exemplary benevolence; and she and her husband lived together ~~in~~ a state of the highest conjugal happiness, and in the practice of Christian virtue, for more than half a century. It was in these favourable religious associations that Joshua Marshman was trained up.

At the age of seven he was sent to the little village school kept by one Coggeshall, and he remained there till he had exhausted its resources, though he ^{Mr. Marshman's scanty education.} left it with a bare knowledge of reading. This was all the instruction he ever received from the agency of others. There was no seminary in the neighbourhood in which writing was taught, or even the simple elements of arithmetic. At the age of seven, as he has recorded, his father happened to repeat to him the narrative of David and Goliath, which riveted his attention, and appears to have created the first desire of reading in his mind, and he gave himself no rest until he had read through all the historical portions of the Old Testament. He was not then aware that there existed similar chronicles of the kings of England, but at the town fair which was held soon after, he met with a brief history of Eng- ^{His astonishing thirst for reading.} land, and read it through before he left the stall. His thirst for reading rapidly increased, and as the

single shelf in his father's cottage contained little beyond the works of some of the old Puritan divines, his son made the most diligent search among the little stores of his neighbours in and around his village. He thought little of walking a dozen miles for the loan of a book. By the time he was twelve years of age, he had thus read through more than a hundred volumes. On one occasion, calling upon the vicar of the parish to borrow a book on which he had long had his eye, he was asked who was, in his opinion, the best preacher, the incumbent or the dissenting minister? Young Marshman, who preferred his own pastor, and was at the same time anxious not to lose the book, said the best reply he could give was to refer him to the remark made by the Scottish Ambassador when Queen Elizabeth inquired whom he thought the most beautiful, herself or the Queen of Scots. The appetite for reading grew by what it fed on, and it soon became insatiable. A few days before his death at Serampore, he diverted himself, by noting down from memory, the books he had read before he was fifteen, as well as the names of the friends from whom he had borrowed them. A slight glance at the first twenty-five on the list will show the astonishing activity of his mind, and the very miscellaneous and ill-assorted knowledge with which it was stocked:—"Borrowed of a neighbour, Baker Ingram, in 1777, the 'Fables of Pilpay;' 'Voltaire's Candidus;' 'Travels of a Philosopher in Cochin China;' 'Robin Hood's Garland.' Of the Rev. Robert Marshman, 'Josephus,' in twenty quarto numbers; 'Salmon's Geography;' the 'Chinese Traveller,' (Duhalde, abridged); a work on 'Astronomy.' Of Mr. P. Phipps, Westbury Leigh, the 'Wonders of Nature and Art;' the 'Natural History of Serpents;' the various 'Revolutions in the World;' the 'Survey of England,' in six volumes; the 'Conversations of Eusebius.' Of Mr. William Cliff, 'Neal's History of the Puritans;' 'History of England,' in letters. Of John Hill, the 'Present State of England

in the time of Charles the Second;' 'Hudibras.' Of Benjamin Roberts, the 'New History of Troy's Destruction;' 'Cynthia,' a novel of the old Saxon time; 'Historical Remarks on the City of London;' 'Don Quixote;' 'Robinson Crusoe;' 'Milton's Paradise Lost;' 'Collyer's History of England;' and 'Tooke's Pantheon.'" The number of works he had thus devoured before he was eighteen, amounted to more than five hundred. Nothing could be more disadvantageous than this desultory course of reading, except the total absence of all mental culture; but it arose from the necessity of reading a book through without reference to the subject, before he could hope to obtain the loan of another. But the injury which this course was calculated to inflict was in a great measure corrected by his astonishing and almost miraculous memory, which enabled him at any time to call up at will the facts connected with any series of events which had been once lodged in his mind, and thus turn to account every successive addition of information he might acquire.

When Mr. Marshman had attained the age of fifteen, Mr. Cator, a bookseller in Holborn, and a native of Westbury Leigh, visited the village, and hearing of a youth who had read everything, conversed repeatedly with him, and was so much gratified with his intelligent remarks, that he proposed to receive him into his shop, with the view of providing for him in his own trade. The prospect of being placed in a bookseller's shop, and revelling among the stores of knowledge it must contain, filled his mind with delight, and the offer was cordially accepted. He started for the metropolis in a waggon, and reached it in three days. He had never been previously separated from his parents, and his removal to London among strangers produced at first much depression of feeling; but he soon became reconciled to a place in which, to use his own expression, he was let loose among thousands of volumes, none of which he was debarred from reading. He found, however, that his

Employed in
London, by Mr.
Cator, a book-
seller.

leisure was more limited than at Westbury Leigh. He was expected to devote several hours in the day to the duties of the shop ; but he never took a book in his hand without reading the title-page, which remained thenceforth imprinted on his memory. This circumstance attracted attention, and was soon noised abroad, as Mr. Cator was proud of the little prodigy he had brought up from Wiltshire ; and a neighbouring bookseller came in one day, and asked to see the lad who could repeat the name of every book in the shop. Mr. Marshman assured him that the report was not correct, though if any book were named he could tell with tolerable certainty whether it was to be found there. When others retired to rest, he applied to reading, and more than once fell asleep with a book in his hand, and the light burning, and thus endangered the building, to the great annoyance of the inmates of the house. As he had little time for reading in the shop, and was daily sent out with books to the residence of customers, he often read them as he walked the streets, and frequently found the book tossed into his face by some rude passenger. The labour of ~~rudging~~ pushing through the streets several hours during the day became at length disheartening ; and having once been sent to the Duke of Grafton's residence with three folio volumes of "Clarendon's History of the Rebellion," his mind began to give way to melancholy, and, as he passed by Westminster Hall, he laid down his load, and sobbed to think that there was no higher prospect before him than that of a bookseller's porter ; but, on looking around the building, and calling up to mind the interesting associations connected with it, he brushed away his tears, replaced the load on his shoulders, and walked on with a light heart, determined to bide his time. The exercise he was thus daily constrained to take had the effect of strengthening his constitution, which was naturally feeble ; at the same time these peregrinations often served to give an agreeable turn to his thoughts as he recurred to the historical recollections

connected with the streets. But, at the end of five months, his father, under the impression that he was unhappy in London, or being himself unhappy, recalled him Returns to West-
bury Leigh. to Westbury Leigh. There he resumed his labours at the loom, and plunged again into his old course of desultory and immoderate reading, devouring every work of fiction or poetry, history, geography, or travels, to which he could obtain access.

The history of his life for the next ten years is monotonous. He had been brought up with the firm conviction, engrafted in his mind by farmer Bachelor and his own father, the pillars of the Baptist church at Westbury Leigh, that it was the duty of a Christian with humble content to await the leadings of Providence, and that it was a sin to make any effort which might wear the appearance of anticipating them; nor was he able fully to shake off this hereditary impression till he was placed in a new sphere at Serampore, where everything had to be created. He continued, therefore, to labour as a weaver, and to live in humble association with the honest, rustic, God-fearing members of the church, though with a mind and attainments immeasurably beyond them. He had been trained up under the eye of pious parents, and with the strictest attention to the duties of religion and morality. He had never fallen into any of the vices common to youth; he was exemplary in his conduct and conversation, and could reproach himself with nothing more heinous than a partiality for Fielding's and Smollet's novels. But he felt that he was not justified in considering himself a converted person. He has left on record that he had been led to consider conversion to consist in some fearful exercises of mind which a man must undergo, for a longer or shorter period, before he could comfort himself with the assurance of 'being in a state of safety. Reflections such as these led to a more careful examination of the Scriptures. Gradually, as he described it, the light of divine

truth shone into his mind, and he was enabled to place his entire dependence for acceptance with God, and his hope of eternal salvation, on the all meritorious atonement of Christ. This improvement in his religious views was more particularly evinced by the new course of reading on which he was induced to enter. He gave several months to the study of "Luther on the Galatians;" he read with his usual avidity a whole library of divinity, polemical and devotional, Episcopal and Puritan. But the works in which he took special delight were those of the Puritan divines of the seventeenth century; and there was scarcely a treatise of that period of any note, with the arguments and sentiments of which he did not become perfectly familiar. This incessant study of those divines gave a peculiar bias to his habits of thought, and even to his style of composition, which was not advantageous in his subsequent career. Still, however, he was unable to come up to the high standard of the church at Westbury Leigh; which consisted of about a hundred members, imbued for the most part with those rigid and unbending views which appeared to have descended to them as an heirloom from their Puritan founders. The four deacons held weekly meetings, and vigilantly watched over the discipline and purity of the body. They maintained that as a work of grace, once begun in the heart, could never become extinct, it was more advisable to postpone the admission to church fellowship even of those who might appear to be sincere, than to admit one unconverted person into the fold. They regarded human learning in a pastor with feelings of suspicion, and entertained the strongest aversion to those whom they termed "men-made" ministers. To these views they adhered perhaps the more tenaciously as they found themselves exposed to the censure of other churches. The Bristol Academy was the training-school of the Baptist churches in the West of England, and presented the nearest object of mistrust to the members at Westbury

His religious
experience.

Leigh. Though they had been charmed with the eloquence of Robert Hall, when he preached at their meeting-house, they could never bring themselves to regard this seat of human learning with any degree of complacency; and they scorned, as they said, "to go down to Egypt for help." When Mr. Marshman sought admission into the church, farmer Bachelor and the other deacons remarked that he had too much "head knowledge" of Christianity to have much "heart knowledge" of its truths. They kept him, therefore, in a state of probation for seven years, and he eventually left Westbury Leigh without having been baptized.

In the year 1791 he was married to Hannah Shepherd, the grand-daughter of the Rev. John Clark, for sixty years the pastor of the Baptist church at His marriage. Crockerton in Wiltshire, where he preached his last sermon in 1803, in his ninety-first year. This union was the source of unalloyed happiness to both during the long period of forty-six years which it subsisted. Mrs. Marshman was a woman of feeling, piety, and good sense, of strong mind and great disinterestedness, fitted in every respect to be an associate in the great undertaking to which the life of her husband was devoted, and withal of so amiable a disposition that nothing was ever known to have ruffled her temper. At the beginning of 1794 Mr. Marshman's efforts were happily turned in a direction more congenial with his disposition, and the course of manual toil, relieved only by the acquisition of such stores of knowledge as few men have gained under such disadvantages, was brought to a close. A school, supported by the church at Broadmead, in Bristol, was in want of a master, and Mr. Marshman was asked to accept the office, with permission to eke out the scanty salary by taking as many private pupils as he desired. This was so manifest a leading of Providence that even the deacons at Westbury Leigh could not gainsay it, and he was advised by his friends in the village to accept it. He removed

to Bristol when a little under twenty-six, at the beginning of 1794. He was introduced on his arrival to Dr. Ryland, the President of Bristol Academy, who, when ^{Removes to Bristol.} made acquainted with the state of his religious feelings, and the rigidity of the Westbury Leigh church, urged him to join the church at Broadmead, and he was received into it by baptism in the course of the year. He was also permitted to join the classes at the academy, and for more than five years applied himself, with his usual diligence and success, to the study of the classics, to which he also added Hebrew and Syriac. While he paid the most scrupulous attention to the duties of the school, and to his own private pupils — among whom were two who have since risen to great eminence, the late Colonel Rich, the British Resident at Bagdad, and Dr. Thomas Southwood Smith — he was enabled, by a strict economy of time, to keep abreast of his fellow students at the academy. The sums he received for tuition placed him in circumstances of ease and comfort, and opened to him the prospect of independence in a few years. But he had read the Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society, and his mind was gradually turned to missionary labour in the East. Mr. Grant, his friend and pupil, and of whose conversion from a state of infidelity he had been the humble instrument, having offered his services to the society, Mr. Marshman resolved to ^{Engages in the Mission.} relinquish all his secular prospects, and accompany him to India. Dr. Ryland, who had long fixed his eyes on Mr. Marshman for the missionary field, encouraged these views, and Mr. Marshman placed himself in communication with the society. His offer was accepted, though not perhaps with the same feeling of cordiality which had been manifested in the case of his colleagues; and it was chiefly by his singular energy and discretion at Serampore, that he was enabled to obtain the confidence of Mr. Fuller, which, however, when once given, was never withdrawn. Within three weeks after Mr. Marshman had

determined to proceed to India he was sailing down the Channel.

The committee accepted the offers of the four candidates for missionary labour, in rapid succession, with the greatest delight. It was the most animating event which had occurred since the formation of the society and the departure of Mr. Carey; but, when Mr. Fuller sat down to count the cost, his mind was clouded with apprehension regarding the means of supporting so large a body on their arrival in India. The funds in the hands of the treasurer had, it is true, accumulated to 3000*l.*, but a considerable portion of this sum would be absorbed in the outfit and passage of the missionaries. A still larger sum would be required for the printing of the New Testament, which Mr. Carey now estimated at 2000*l.*, for which amount he desired the society to be prepared to honour his bills. Mr. Fuller, therefore, fell back on Mr. Carey's plan of a Moravian settlement, which has been alluded to in a previous chapter, and he wrote to him and to Mr. Fountain to say, "Now we apprehend you will find it necessary to form what you have proposed, a kind of Moravian settlement, as otherwise we do not see how the missionaries can be supported. Our hearts rejoice at the character of these young people, and in anticipating the joy it will afford you if God should prosper their way and carry them in safety to Mudnabatty. We shall be able, through the good hand of God upon us, to support you, if you form a settlement according to Brother Carey's proposal—that is, you may draw on Messrs. Weston, Pinhorn, Golding, Newson, and Weston, bankers, London, for 360*l.* a year for your whole number, in which we do not include Mr. Thomas, who will probably not be with you. We shall also, we trust, be able to get through the printing of 2000 copies of the New Testament, for which we have already sent the paper, and, if a larger edition be wanted, we shall find the money. We have now nearly 3000*l.* in hand, above 1000*l.* of which will go

Provision by the
society for the
support of the
four missionaries.

in sending out the missionaries; but the Lord is our provider, we shall not want." However incredible it may appear, it was with these prospects before them that Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward, and their two associates, embarked with their families for India. This sum of 360*l.*, which at the exchange of the day — two and sixpence the rupee — was equivalent to only 2880 rupees in India, was the sole provision which the society deemed it within their power to make for the support of the whole missionary establishment, consisting of six men, five females, and eight children. In the memorandum which Mr. Fuller placed in the hands of the missionaries as they were leaving England, and which is dated the 20th of May, 1799, he remarked, "When the missionaries arrive, though they will form a company and keep one table, yet there will be something wherein they must be distinct; and will want, according to their families, some distinct allowance. Each must have, what we term, something for pocket-money. This must be adjusted by Brother Carey and themselves." On receiving Mr. Fuller's letter announcing the acceptance of the missionaries and their approaching departure, Mr. Carey immediately commenced the building of the "straw houses" for his new colleagues in that isolated and unhealthy locality, where he had a small indigo factory without a single vat, and where he expected the missionaries to live, and labour, and flourish on forty rupees a month for each family.

The East India Company's spring fleet was then in the Downs preparing to sail for Calcutta; but to have sought a passage in any of their vessels would have been an act of insanity. Not only would permission have been peremptorily refused, but instructions might probably have been sent to India to put the Government on its guard, and prevent the entrance of the missionaries into the country, through any foreign vessel. All the Danish vessels of the season had taken their departure; but happily, an American ship, the

They embark in
the "*Criterion*"
for Calcutta.

“Criterion,” was on the eve of sailing for Bengal, and a passage was immediately engaged for the whole party. She was commanded by Captain Wickes, a Presbyterian of Providence in the United States. On hearing that the passengers were missionaries, he wrote to Mr. Fuller that he had long cherished the hope of being privileged to convey the messengers of the Gospel to the heathen, and that his fondest wish was about to be gratified. On the 29th of May, the vessel, with its missionary freight, reached Portsmouth, and proceeded to sea. The voyage, which lasted four months and a half, was deprived of its usual inconveniences, by the rare kindness and the Christian sympathy of the commander. The missionaries had divine service twice on the Sunday, whenever the weather permitted, and enjoyed continual opportunities of social devotion. Some of the passengers, as well as the supercargo, who professed infidel principles, ridiculed the idea of going out to India to convert the blacks, and not to make money; but the general harmony of the voyage was not disturbed by any disputes. The missionaries allotted a portion of each day to the instruction of the sailors, to whom they became in no small degree endeared by their affectionate exertions, and some of the most obdurate were brought under the influence of religious truth. As they approached the shores of India, the treatment they were likely to experience from a hostile government was often discussed with feelings of anxiety, and the want of a license from the Court of Directors depressed their spirits. Mr. Charles Grant, who had been several years in the direction of the East India Company, was fully aware of the hostility of his colleagues to the missionary enterprise, and he therefore advised Mr. Fuller that the missionaries should not expose themselves to immediate banishment by landing in Calcutta, but proceed direct to Serampore, which was under the Danish flag, and wait for an opportunity of proceeding to Mudnabatty. They were, therefore, furnished with a letter of introduc-

tion from the Danish Consulate in London to the governor of that settlement. On the 5th of October, the "Criterion" anchored in Sagor Roads, and the pilot came on board, and delivered to the captain the blank forms he was required to fill up, with the names of his passengers, their profession, and their destination. The missionaries consulted among themselves whether it would not be more advisable to report themselves—according to a suggestion in one of Mr. Carey's letters—as his assistants proceeding to his indigo factory, near Malda; but they determined boldly to avow themselves as missionaries, and to trust to Divine Providence to protect them from the consequences of such a declaration. The captain consequently entered them as Christian missionaries, proceeding to the Danish settlement at Serampore. The returns thus filled up were sent to Calcutta on Wednesday the 9th of October. Mr. Marshman and his associates were not without hope that Mr. Thomas would have been waiting to receive them, but he was a hundred miles in the interior of the country, manufacturing sugar. There was no friendly voice to welcome them to the strange land in which they had arrived, and they must have been subjected to no little inconvenience, but for the kindness of Captain Wickes. He procured boats for their luggage, in which they embarked under the guidance of his sirkar, who spoke a little English, and on Sunday morning, the 13th of October, they found themselves opposite the neat little hotel at Serampore. Mr. Marshman immediately went on shore, and falling on his knees, blessed God for having brought them in safety across the ocean, and landed them on the soil of India.

CHAP. III.

THE little Danish town of Serampore, which has been rendered so memorable in the history of Christian missions, lies on the right bank of the river Hooghly, about sixteen miles above Calcutta. The situation is more picturesque and grateful than that of any town in the province. On the opposite bank is the cantonment of Barrackpore, where five or six native regiments are usually stationed, and the elegant country-seat of the Governor-General, with a well-wooded and beautiful park stretching for a mile along the margin of the river. Previous to the establishment of this settlement, the Danish factors had landed and shipped their cargoes at the French town of Chandernagore, eight miles higher up the river, but this was found to be inconvenient; and, after a tedious negotiation, and an expenditure of 16,000*l.* among the favourites and officials at Moorshedabad, they succeeded in obtaining a firman from the Nabob, Aly Verdy Khan, to purchase about twenty acres of land at Serampore, and establish a factory. This was one of the latest acts of sovereignty performed by the Nabob of Moorshedabad. Two years after, the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were conquered by Clive, and the British empire in the East began. On the 8th of October, 1755, Mr. Soetman, and his assistant, Ziegenbalsk, the Danish officers deputed from Tranquebar, hoisted the Danish colours on the spot where they continued to fly for ninety years. The next year the young Nabob, Seraja Dowlah, incensed at the protection afforded by the Governor of Calcutta to a wealthy native whom he

The town of Serampore.

had marked out for plunder, marched down with an army of 50,000 men, and sacked the town, and expelled the Company's establishments from Bengal. In his progress to Calcutta he extorted contributions of money and ammunition from the Dutch authorities at Chinsurah and the French at Chandernagore, and then sent an officer over to Serampore to require the Danish agent to join his standard with all his available horse, foot, and artillery. Soetman humbly replied that he had neither troops nor guns, but was living with his assistant in a hut he had erected, surrounded by a few native constables to protect the flag while the factory was building. The settlement gradually increased in size and importance, and its commerce was materially assisted by English capital. The fortunes accumulated by the servants of the East India Company had commonly been paid into the Calcutta treasury in exchange for bills on the Court of Directors in London. The Court were thus subject to irregular and unexpected demands in England to suit the convenience, not of their own commerce, but of their own rapacious and gluttonous servants. They were obliged at length to restrain this accommodation within a very narrow limit, and the accumulations of their servants were afterwards in great part transmitted to Europe in Danish investments. Within twenty years after the establishment of the settlement, the number of ships which resorted to it in nine months did not fall short of twenty-two, with cargoes amounting in the aggregate to more than 10,000 tons. When Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward and their two friends landed there the town had reached the zenith of its prosperity. The settlements of Chandernagore and Chinsurah had been captured by England during the war of the French Revolution, and the only trade of the Presidency in the hands of foreigners was concentrated in Serampore.

On Monday, the 14th of October, the missionaries waited on the Governor, Colonel Bie, with the letter from

the Danish consul in London, and were received with the most cordial affability. He offered them all the assistance in his power, but expressed great doubts whether they would be permitted by the British Government to proceed up the country to Malda. They were not, however, deterred by his remarks, but began to engage boats, and prepare for their immediate departure. But a grievous disappointment awaited them. The captain's report of having brought out four missionaries reached Calcutta on Thursday, and was submitted by the police to the Governor-General in Council, without the loss of a day. This was the first instance in which the arrival of missionaries, without the permission of the Court of Directors, had been officially brought before Government, and it was resolved that the missionaries should be forthwith required to leave the country. Orders to this effect were sent to the town authorities the next day; and when Captain Wickes applied on Monday to enter his vessel, he was informed that instructions had been issued by Government to refuse it, unless the four missionaries appeared at the police office, and entered into engagements to return immediately to England. This intelligence, which Captain Wickes brought up to Serampore in person the same evening, disarranged all their plans, and filled their minds with dismay. They determined, however, to remain at Serampore, and quietly await the development of circumstances, unless the governor of the settlement declined to protect them. They waited on him the next morning, and explained the difficulties of their position. Colonel Bie had enjoyed the ministry and instructions of Schwartz, while an officer at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, on the coast, and entertained great regard for the cause of missions. He had been nearly forty years in the service of the Danish Company, the greater portion of which period was passed in the government of Serampore. He was a man of small stature, but

The missionaries
are ordered to
quit India.

Kindness of the
governor of Se-
rampore.

undaunted resolution, and though the contrast was so palpable between his little commercial settlement, with a small saluting battery, and the empire of British India, in which it appeared a mere speck, he had maintained a tone of lofty independence towards the British Government twenty years before this time, and had given no little umbrage to Warren Hastings. Subsequently to that period he had uniformly resisted the demand of successive Governors-General for the surrender of those to whom he had given the protection of his flag. He was now prepared anew to brave the indignation of the British Government by offering the missionaries an asylum, but at the same time advised them to present an explanatory memorial to Lord Wellesley. They lost no time in writing to Mr. Carey to come down with all expedition, and aid them at this crisis with his advice. Mr. Ward and Mr. Brunson also went down to Calcutta to make interest for permission to remain in the country; but they found that a paragraph had appeared in a newspaper of the preceding day, stating that four Papist missionaries had arrived in a foreign vessel and proceeded to Serampore. The editor had never heard of the existence of the Baptist denomination, and concluded that the missionaries must be Popish priests, more especially as the emissaries of Bonaparte were known to be traversing the country under that guise. But the Governor-General was soon assured of the Protestant character and pacific designs of the missionaries. He found, moreover, that they were now beyond his reach, and he felt that he had no legal right to refuse an entry to a foreign vessel, simply on the ground that she had brought out four passengers who had proceeded to a foreign settlement. He yielded to circumstances with a grace that did credit to his good sense, and removed the interdict he had laid on the "Criterion." At the same time Captain Wickes informed the police that the

Lord Wellesley
permits them to
remain.

missionaries did not intend to present themselves at the office, but would for the present continue at Serampore.

The cause of immediate anxiety, the prospect of expulsion from the country, was thus removed, but the difficulties of their situation remained.

Position of the
missionaries at
Serampore.

They were shut up in a little town, and could not attempt to move into the interior of the country without the dread of interruption. Four days after their arrival Captain Wickes called on the Rev. Mr. Brown, and presented a letter of introduction which the venerable John Newton had given the missionaries; and likewise placed in his hands the society's valedictory address, to be shown to the Governor-General, in which they were cautioned against intermeddling with public affairs. It was in Mr. Fuller's own strain: "One circumstance is of so much consequence that we must not omit it in this parting address, though you have been again and again reminded of it individually, and we have no reason to suspect you are otherwise minded than ourselves. Beware, both from a principle of conscience, and from sound policy and regard to your own interest and that of the mission, to keep at the utmost distance from intermeddling with any political concerns. . . . We certainly would sooner hear of any of you sinking in the ocean than of his becoming a busy-body in political affairs, to bring dishonour on religion, and lay the strongest impediments in the way of the important work we have at heart." Mr. Brown stood high at this time in the confidence of Lord Wellesley, and possessed great influence in the highest official circle, and he did everything in his power to obtain permission for the missionaries to settle in the British territories; but his efforts proved unavailing. The leading members of Government fully participated in the feelings of the India House, and were determined that there should be no missionaries at their Presidency. Mr. Marshman and his colleagues were therefore constrained to remain in a state

of seclusion at Serampore till they could receive communications from Mr. Carey. As a longer residence at the expensive hotel would have told seriously on their limited funds, they hired a small house in a back part of the town, into which they removed the fourth day after their arrival. It was not only exceedingly inconvenient, affording to each family the accommodation of only a single chamber about fourteen feet square, but also very damp, and the season was the close of the rains. It contained one room of larger dimensions, which was reserved for their common table and for divine service, and on the second Sunday after their arrival they invited the Christian community of the town to join them in public worship. The governor and many other gentlemen sent their own chairs, and filled the room. Mr. Ward delivered an excellent discourse, and thus records the event in his own journal: "Oct. 20. I am this day thirty years of age. What scenes have I passed through! and now I am fifteen thousand miles from home, preaching before the governor of a Danish settlement!" The dampness of the house soon proved fatal to one of their number, Mr. Grant, who was attacked with a severe cold, which brought on fever, and he was a corpse on the 31st of October, before his brethren, new to the climate, were aware of his danger. A short and simple train of mourners accompanied his remains to the Danish burial-ground. In the peculiar circumstances in which they were then placed, with their path blocked up, and uncertain whether they should be permitted to continue in the country, this unexpected bereavement was felt with peculiar keenness.

Death of Mr.
Grant.

Mr. Carey's reply to the letter which announced the arrival and embarrassment of the missionaries did not reach them before the 3rd of November, and it afforded them little relief from their anxieties. He was unwilling to abandon the idea of making the obscure village of Kidderpore, in the Malda

Discussions
regarding their
future course.

district, the seat of their labours, and of establishing the missionary settlement and press in the vicinity of his factory. He was not without hope that the opposition of Government might be overcome, and he wrote to many of his friends in Calcutta to secure their influence. He entreated his friend, Dr. Roxburgh, the superintendent of the Company's Botanic Garden, to request Mr. Colebrooke, the eminent orientalist, and one of the most influential members of Government, to make interest for his brethren; but Mr. Colebrooke assured him that any application to Government for leave to settle as missionaries in the interior would be unsuccessful, and would, moreover, create irritation, and that any attempt to proceed up the country without permission would ensure their being sent back immediately to England. But the kindness of the governor of Serampore was redoubled as the hostility of the British Government became more manifest. He called on the missionaries on the 6th of November, and pressed them to take into consideration the propriety of making Serampore the head-quarters of the mission. He assured them that under the protection of the Danish crown they would have nothing to fear from the opposition of their own Government. He represented to them that they might establish a school for the support of the mission, which in the vicinity of the British metropolis would soon become remunerative; that they might set up a press, and print the Scriptures and tracts without hindrance, and that suitable premises might be obtained on very reasonable terms. He stated that he was prepared to grant them all the privileges of Danish citizenship though as yet they possessed no landed property in the town; and he offered them passports under his own official seal whenever they desired to travel in the British territories. As a further inducement to them to remain in the settlement, he offered to make over to them the Church, for the construction of which he was then endeavouring to raise subscriptions. At the same time th

Rev. Mr. Brown, who was well acquainted with the views and policy of Lord Wellesley, assured them that he was, above all things, resolved not to allow the establishment of any press in the Company's territories out of Calcutta. The cause of this repugnance is thus explained.

Lord Wellesley was at this time exasperated beyond measure against the press of Calcutta, and had adopted measures of restraint of such extreme harshness as even the difficulties of his political position were scarcely sufficient to palliate. On the coast he was engaged in the final struggle with Tippoo Sultan, while the other country powers were in comparative vigour, and wavering in their sentiments regarding the British Government. He regarded, therefore, with extreme sensitiveness, any remarks in the public journals, which appeared in any degree likely to compromise the stability of our rule in the East. Mr. Bruce, the editor of the "Asiatic Mirror," a Calcutta newspaper, and one of the ablest public writers who has ever appeared in India, had indulged in some speculative opinions on the comparative strength of the European and native population, written in all simplicity and good faith, and without any factious design. But Lord Wellesley considered the article "mischievous," and in his anxiety that the "public security," as he said, "might not be exposed to constant hazard," he directed Sir Alured Clarke, whom he had left in charge of the Government of Calcutta during his absence at Madras, to embark the editor of that paper for Europe in the first ship which might sail from Calcutta; adding, "If you cannot tranquillise the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force, and send their persons to Europe." At the same time he established a very rigid censorship of the press, and directed that no paper should be allowed to appear until it had been revised by the secretary to Government, who was desired to expunge whatever appeared to him likely "to endanger the public

Lord Wellesley's
views on the
press.

tranquillity." The penalty of any offence against these stern regulations, was immediate deportation to England. These rules, on reaching Leadenhall Street, received the cordial approbation of the Court of Directors, and a despatch was drafted without any loss of time for transmission to India. But it had to pass the ordeal of the Board of Control, and the President drew his fatal red mark across the sentences which expressed approval of Lord Wellesley's rules, and reserved the question for further consideration. At a subsequent period, after his return to England, and when the rust of oriental despotism had been rubbed off by the friction of constitutional associations, he fixed his own condemnation on these arbitrary regulations, by directing them to be excluded from the collection of his official despatches, published under his own superintendence. But at the period to which we refer — November, 1799 — these feelings of exasperation and dread regarding the press were in full force, and it was at this inauspicious juncture that the missionaries sought permission to establish a press in the interior of the country, two hundred miles from Calcutta. To this proposal the Governor-General gave the most decided and peremptory refusal.

Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward gathered from their intercourse with Mr. Brown, that though Lord Wellesley would on no account permit the existence of a press in the vicinity of Malda, it was not altogether foreign to his wishes that the missionaries should accept Col. Bie's offer, and establish their mission in a settlement beyond the reach of British interference, where he would be relieved from the necessity of disturbing them. Lord Wellesley was a despot, but an enlightened despot. The uncontrolled power vested in him he valued, because it enabled him to secure the safety and promote the prosperity of the British empire in the East. But he had no sympathy with the little, contracted views which then prevailed in the Corporation in Leadenhall Street,

Mr. Ward proceeds to Madnabatty.

where the dread of interlopers was an heirloom, and it was almost treasonable to name missionaries and schoolmasters. He did not consider either of these classes dangerous, and he had therefore no reason for persecuting them. The more closely Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward considered their position and prospects, the more clearly did it appear to be their duty to give up Kidderpore and the Malda district, and plant their establishment at Serampore. To avoid the loss of time which a lengthened correspondence would entail, it was resolved to depute Mr. Ward to discuss the question in person with Mr. Carey, and he immediately proceeded to Malda, under the protection of a Danish passport. He reached Mr. Carey's bungalow on the 1st of December, and thus describes his first interview with the man who was destined to be his colleague for twenty-two years in this missionary enterprise: "This morning we left the boat, and walked a mile and a half to brother Carey's. I felt very unusual sensations as I drew near the house. So near to brother Carey, after a voyage of 15,000 miles, and a tedious passage up the river, and in our present circumstances, . . . what an interesting situation! The sight of the house increased my perturbation. We met Hurry Churron. At length I saw Carey! He is less altered than I expected, has rather more flesh than when in England, and, blessed be God, he is a young man still."

The day after his arrival, Mr. Ward discussed their future movements with Mr. Carey. At Kidderpore he lived only by sufferance; his license might be revoked at any moment, if he gave any disturbance to Government, and it was likely to be summarily withdrawn when his missionary vocation was discovered; neither would his brethren be permitted to join him. At Serampore, under the protection of the Danish flag, they would be free from molestation by the British authorities; they might establish a press, and receive additional missionaries; and the country around was

Mr. Carey resolves to remove to Serampore.

densely peopled. On the other hand, Mr. Carey had purchased an indigo factory, and commenced the erection of buildings for his brethren, which could not be abandoned without loss. While they were discussing the subject, a letter arrived from Mr. Marshman at Serampore, stating that some of the leading members of Government were exasperated at the surreptitious mode in which the missionaries had found their way into the country and obtained an asylum in a foreign settlement, and had threatened to arrest any of them who might be found trespassing on the Company's territories. Mr. Ward states, in the record of their deliberations, "I have a passport from the governor of Serampore, and do not therefore fear interruption." This letter decided the question of Mr. Carey's removal to Serampore. Their future arrangements were then debated, and it was resolved to establish the mission on Mr. Carey's long-cherished plan of a Moravian settlement, to purchase a piece of ground in Serampore, and run up a range of cheap houses at an expense not exceeding 300*l*. Mr. Fuller had informed the missionaries that the balance in the hands of the treasurer amounted to 3000*l*. Mr. Carey and Mr. Ward, at this conference, agreed to advise the committee to remit this money to India, to be invested in Government securities, which then bore interest at the tempting rate of 12 per cent. "This sum," said Mr. Carey, "would furnish 360*l*. a year, without the difficulties and uncertainties of drawing on England." He expected to realise a farther sum of 200*l*. a year from the press and the school they were about to establish. A month after he urged the plan on the society with increased importunity. If the society, he remarked, could only secure a capital of 4000*l*., yielding an annual return of 480*l*., the mission "could be established without any more labour of begging." He added, "Perhaps you may start at the proposal of investing your money in the Company's hands, lest they should become bankrupts or

be dissolved. To this I can only say, that in this case the Government of England would, in all probability, become responsible for their debts." He does not appear to have considered it possible that the credit of the Company would ever be so firmly established in India that, with the public debt quadrupled, they would be enabled with ease to borrow any amount of money at five per cent. Happily this project fell to the ground. An endowed mission of necessity becomes lifeless. A feeling of healthful responsibility to the Christian public, periodically enforced, appears to be indispensable to the maintenance of zeal and animation in the missionary system. The money in the hands of the treasurer, instead of being locked up in Government securities, was more usefully employed in enlarging the sphere of missionary operations, and in printing the Scriptures, and, even in a pecuniary point of view, became more productive, than if it had been buried in the Company's treasury. Having thus determined to remove the seat of the mission to Serampore, the press which Mr. Udny had presented to the mission, and the types which had been purchased in Calcutta, were packed up and despatched. During the succeeding three weeks, Mr. Carey and Mr. Ward were employed in visiting Dinagepore, Malda, and the ruins of Gour, and in taking leave of the little colony of Christian friends residing in the neighbourhood. They also took a journey into the Rajmahl hills, where Mr. Ward was charmed with the honesty and simplicity of the mountain tribes; and, in writing to his colleagues at Serampore, said that a European would evidently be well received among them, and listened to with eagerness. "I long," said he, "to stay here, and tell these social and untutored heathen the good news from heaven. I have a strong persuasion that the doctrine of a dying Saviour would, under the Holy Spirit's influence, melt their hearts." But other and more important scenes of labour now demanded his attention.

Mr. Carey arrived at Serampore with his family, consisting of four sons, and a wife in a state of hopeless insanity, on the 10th of January. Thus were the missionaries emphatically led "by a way they knew not." The opposition of Government, which at first threatened to extinguish missionary efforts in Bengal, became, under Providence, the occasion of removing the seat of the mission from one of the most unsuitable localities to the immediate vicinity of the metropolis, yet beyond the reach of the British authorities. The Power which had encouraged the first Protestant missionaries, Ziegenbalg and his associates, in the south of India, had now the honour of taking under its protection the infant mission in the north, and sheltering it from the storm which menaced its existence. If the settlement of Serampore had not existed, or if it had not been at the time under the Danish flag, Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward would, in all human probability, have been constrained to return forthwith to England, and the mission might have expired in its cradle. Mr. Carey would not have been permitted either to establish a press for the printing of the Scriptures at Mudnabatty, or to receive any addition of missionaries, and his labours would probably have become extinct on his death. The day after his arrival at Serampore he waited on the governor, and was welcomed with great cordiality. The next day, being the Sabbath, he preached in English to a large and attentive congregation, and in the afternoon delivered his first address in Bengalee to the heathen in the town. The week was occupied in forming rules for the large family thus brought together, and laying down the plan of future operations. It was determined to form a common stock, to dine at a common table, and to give each family a trifling allowance—Mr. Fuller's pocket-money—for personal expenses. All the missionaries were to be considered on a footing of equality, and to preach and conduct social devotions in turn. The superintendence of domestic arrangements

Mr. Carey's
arrival at Seram-
pore.

and expenditure was to be entrusted to each missionary in rotation for a month. Mr. Carey had charge of the public chest as treasurer, and also of the medicine chest, for India was then considered so unhealthy that a constant resort to medicine was deemed essential to existence. Mr. Fountain was appointed librarian. One evening in the week was to be devoted to the adjustment of differences and the renewal of their pledge of mutual love; and it was resolved that no one should engage in any private trade, and that whatever might be earned should be credited to the common stock.

Arrangements of
the mission
family.

Leaving the missionaries to complete their first arrangements, we turn for a moment to the scene which was exhibited at this time in Calcutta, as an illustration of the character of the times. In a former chapter we have alluded to the utter extinction

Religious cere-
monial in Cal-
cutta.

of religious feeling among the functionaries of the Government, which followed the acquisition of uncontrolled power and incredible wealth. The religion of the Bible appeared to be entirely foreign to their minds, and they were distinguished from the heathen around them chiefly by their total disregard of all religious observances. Beyond the limits of Calcutta there was no Christian house of prayer, or any assembly for religious worship which might have led the natives, Hindoos or Mahomedans, to conclude that the English nation possessed any creed whatever. The French revolution brought a flood of infidelity into a community fully prepared to imbibe its debasing principles, from the prescriptive habit of regarding the truths of the Sacred Scriptures with indifference, if not with aversion. At the period when Lord Wellesley assumed the government, nothing was considered so unfashionable as religion, and even a formal attendance on Christian ordinances on the Sunday was a singularity which inspired contempt. His predecessor, Sir John Shore, however eminent for his personal piety and Christian virtues, was deficient in that strength of character which moulds

society. There was as little religion when he quitted office as when he entered upon it. The feeblest of administrations was followed by the most energetic. Lord Wellesley possessed that stern energy of purpose which, united as it was in his case with large and lofty views, irresistibly carries society along in its own course. He had none of that warm religious fervour which adorned the character of his predecessor, but, like other statesmen of Mr. Pitt's school, he considered religion as the safeguard of social order and the most effectual promoter of human happiness, and he determined to throw the whole weight of his Government into the scale. After he had been six months in the country he issued a proclamation to forbid horse-racing* and gambling on Sunday. He stated that the profanation of the day set apart for religious devotions was destructive of the good order and morals of society, and contrary to the duties and ordinances of the Protestant religion. He therefore ordered all magistrates and officers commanding military stations to prohibit these practices, and announced that all persons so offending should forfeit the protection of Government and be sent back forthwith to Europe. He issued a proclamation likewise against the publication of Sunday newspapers. He never failed to appear in his seat at church, as the representative of the British Government. He assured Mr. Brown that he was resolved to show that the "Christian religion was the religion of the State."

It was chiefly with this view that he appointed a day of general thanksgiving for the recent success of the British arms in Mysore, and thus combined the solemnities of religion with the commemoration of the first triumph of his administration. He determined that the ceremonial of the day should lack none of that pomp which might demonstrate that the State had a religion. On the 6th of February, 1800, the Chief Justice and the other Judges of the Supreme Court, the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of Council, and the chief

The same subject.

public officers, civil and military, assembled at six in the morning at Government House. The Governor-General then proceeded down the street, which was lined with troops, to the church, at the entrance of which he was received by the two chaplains, Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan. During the chanting of the Te Deum, a royal salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William; the guns of the fort were responded to by several of the ships in the river; and thus the inauguration of the Christian religion, as the religion of the rulers of British India, was announced by the booming of cannon and the parade of two thousand troops. Mr. Buchanan preached a sermon suited to the occasion, copies of which were sent to every station by order of Government; and the thanks of the Supreme Council were officially conveyed to him for his services on this occasion. These religious proceedings in a community so strongly tinctured with the spirit of scepticism appear to have excited a feeling of astonishment, and, in some instances, even of resentment; but, on the whole, the infidel society of Calcutta yielded a decent acquiescence in this the first public thanksgiving which had been offered to the Almighty since the birth of our Indian empire. It even became fashionable to acknowledge that "religion was a very proper thing, and that no civilised State could subsist without it." At the same hour when these services were conducted with imperial splendour in Calcutta, the Serampore missionaries, in a more humble form, were offering their thanks to Almighty God for the extension of British power and influence, which they considered essential to the spread of Divine truth in India. They announced that on the day appointed for a general thanksgiving Divine service would be held in the little room they had appropriated as a chapel. The Danish governor and the members of his little council manifested the absence of all national prejudice, and their sympathy with British prosperity, by attending the chapel on this occasion, when Mr. Carey

preached an appropriate sermon. Within ten months of this time Copenhagen was bombarded by British cannon.

On his arrival at Serampore, Mr. Carey rented a little house at some distance from the residence of his brethren; but neither of the houses occupied by the missionaries was adapted for the operations which they contemplated. There was no convenience

Purchase of a
house in Seram-
pore.

for the erection of the press, the first of their wants, or for the establishment of a school. Serampore was at the time the seat of an active commerce, and the river was enlivened by six or seven merchantmen. The town, moreover, was the only refuge for debtors left on the banks of the Hooghly; the two other foreign settlements of Chandernagore and Chinsurah having been occupied by the English in the course of the war. There was no insolvent court in Calcutta, and the bankrupts of the metropolis flocked to Serampore. From these causes house-rent was extravagantly high, and no premises suited to the necessities of the mission could be obtained under 120 rupees a month, or 1440 rupees a year, which was one half the sum which Mr. Fuller allotted for their support. They were obliged, therefore, at once to purchase a house and premises; and within a week after the arrival of Mr. Carey a house was bought for 6000 rupees, though they had not half the amount at their disposal. It was with difficulty they could raise funds at a time when Government was borrowing money at 12 per cent. The exchange, moreover, stood at 2s. 6d. the rupee, and it was only with great difficulty that bills could be disposed of at that rate. The house was paid for by the appropriation of the funds which the missionaries had brought out for their subsistence, by bills on England, and by a loan. The house afforded moderate accommodation for all the missionary families, and contained a large hall, which was devoted to public worship, and now forms the mission chapel, in which the praises of God have resounded for more than half a century. A side building was fitted up as a

printing office, and a large plot of ground in the rear of the house was made over to Mr. Carey for a botanical garden, which he soon stocked with plants from all quarters, till it became second in extent only to the Company's botanical garden. After completing the payment for the house, the missionaries had only 200*l.* left for the support of six families; but they hoped that, with rigid economy, it would be found sufficient for six months. The house was bought in the name of the Society, and the missionaries constituted themselves trustees. Thus, in the first month after the mission had been established at Serampore, were the missionaries obliged to abandon those limited and economical views which the Society in England, not less than Mr. Carey, had been accustomed to associate with their enterprise, and to launch out into a liberal expenditure corresponding with the enlarged scale on which they were about to carry on their operations.

Their first attention was given to the printing office. The press brought from Mudnabatty was set up, and the types arranged. With the exception of two Establishment of the press. books of the Old Testament, the translation of the whole Bible into Bengalee had been completed. The missionaries determined to begin with the printing of the New Testament. Mr. Ward set the first types with his own hands, and presented the first sheet of the Testament to Mr. Carey on the 18th of March. The feeling of exultation with which it was contemplated, and the bright visions of future success which the sight of it kindled, may be more easily imagined than described. After their arrival in Serampore, Mr. Carey and Mr. Fountain were daily engaged, morning and afternoon, in addressing the heathen in the town and its neighbourhood, in company with Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward, who applied to the study of the language with great diligence. In reference to one of these visits, Mr. Ward writes: "This morning brother Carey and I took our stand like two ballad singers, and began singing in Bengalee before one of Seeb's temples,

under a canopy which had been spread for his worshippers. Out of twenty or thirty scarcely one was found able to read." These addresses to the heathen at all places of public resort brought a constant succession of visitors to the Mission House, and no small portion of Mr. Carey's time was occupied in answering their objections, and explaining the principles of Christian truth to them. The 24th of April was appointed a day of thanksgiving for the establishment of the mission under such favourable circumstances. After the termination of the services, the missionaries organised a church, and elected Mr. Carey pastor, and Mr. Fountain and Mr. Marshman deacons. Before they separated, they voted an address of thanks to the governor for the support they had received from him and the Danish authorities at a period when, but for this kindness, three of their number would have been sent back to England. The address was presented to him the next day, when he was pleased to assure them that the promise of support he had given was not intended as a compliment, but would be rendered effectual to the full extent of his power. They likewise presented the governor with an address to his Danish Majesty, Frederick the Sixth, in which they expressed their warmest gratitude for the generous protection which his servants at Serampore had extended to them, and entreated his gracious permission to continue in the settlement and prosecute their labours. To this address, a reply was received the next year, in which his Majesty signified the gratification he felt at the establishment of the mission under the Danish flag, and informed the missionaries that he had taken their institution under his especial protection, and instructed the local authorities to afford them at all times all the assistance in their power.

On the 1st of May, 1800, Mr. and Mrs. Marshman opened two boarding schools to assist in the support of the mission, which gave an addition of 100 rupees in the first month to their slender resources, and before the close of the year

yielded 300 rupees a month. Under their able management the schools gradually rose in repute, and became the most popular and remunerative establishments of the kind at the Presidency, and thus formed the mainstay of the mission. The newly arrived missionaries were now passing through the first ordeal of the scorching month of May, but without any of those contrivances by which the severity of the heat is mitigated at the present time. The house they occupied had been built in the most primitive style of European architecture in India, with wooden shutters, instead of the modern luxury of Venetian windows, and a lattice work of cane to admit the light and the air. There was no punkah—or swinging fan—in the house. Indeed, the punkah, which is now considered quite as essential to comfort as a fire is in England, had then been only recently invented by the Dutch governor at Chinsurah; and the church in Calcutta, which the Governor-General himself attended, was without one. “We have felt the greatest heat,” writes Mr. Ward, “we have ever experienced, and though we perspire profusely, it neither impedes business nor injures health. Our brethren preached as usual four times on the Sunday.” On the 1st of June they opened a vernacular school for native youth, which soon numbered forty pupils. Even at that early period, the natives appear to have manifested the same anxiety which they do at present to obtain for their children the advantages which a knowledge of English is supposed to confer. In a letter written about this time to the Society in England, the missionaries say: “Commerce has raised new thoughts and awakened new energies, so that hundreds, if we could skilfully teach them gratis, would crowd to learn the English language. We hope this may be in our power some time, and may be a happy means of diffusing the knowledge of the Gospel. At present our hands are quite full.” About the middle of this year, Ram-bosoo, who had consorted for many years with Mr. Thomas, and was for some time Mr. Carey’s

Establishment of
boarding schools.

moonshee, hearing of the establishment of the mission at Serampore, came upon a visit to the missionaries. He had a clearer perception of the truths of Christianity than any other native at the time, and he regarded the popular superstitions of the country with philosophical contempt, but he did not possess sufficient resolution to renounce his family connections, and avow himself a Christian. "All the ties," writes Mr. Marshman, "that twine about the heart of a father, a husband, a child, a neighbour, must be torn and broken before a man can give himself to Christ." These ties were stronger than the convictions of Ram-bosoo. He was one of the most accomplished Bengalee scholars of the day, and wielded the power of sarcasm inherent in the language with singular effect. At the request of Mr. Carey, he compiled a religious tract, the first which had ever appeared, called the "Gospel Messenger," which was intended to introduce the doctrines of the Gospel to his fellow-countrymen. At the same time he com-

Printing the first tract.

posed another pamphlet in which he exposed the absurdities of Hindooism and the pretensions of its priesthood with great severity. Large editions of these papers were printed and circulated, and produced no little sensation in the native community. But like those who assisted in the construction of the ark, and yet obtained no asylum in it, Ram-bosoo, though he contributed largely to the introduction of Christian truth into the country, never himself sought refuge in the doctrines of the Gospel.

The expenses of the press soon absorbed the slender resources of the missionaries, and before the year was half completed, they were crippled for means to carry on their labours. In this dilemma, they adopted the bold and somewhat hazardous

Proposals for printing the Bengalee New Testament.

course of appealing to the British public in Calcutta for support, though six months only had elapsed since government had evinced the strongest opposition to their undertaking, and they were now residing under a foreign flag, in defiance of the English authorities. They

announced, in the Calcutta journals, that they had established a press at Serampore, and commenced printing the Sacred Scriptures in the Bengalee language, and they invited their fellow-countrymen to assist them in this work by a subscription of two gold mohurs—about four pounds sterling—for a copy of the Bengalee Bible. As soon as the notification caught the eye of Lord Wellesley, his apprehensions were aroused. He considered it vain for him to have placed the press in Calcutta under the most stringent restrictions, if a press was allowed to exist in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis, in a foreign settlement, over the operations of which it was out of his power to exercise any kind of control. His first impulse was to address the Danish authorities on the subject, with a view to the immediate suppression of the press; but, after a little reflection, he thought it more advisable to consult Mr. Brown, who was supposed to be well acquainted with the views of the missionaries. Mr. Brown assured him that the press at Serampore was not established with any sinister object, but simply to aid in the spiritual instruction of the natives, and that the missionaries had recently refused to publish a political pamphlet containing animadversions on the British government. Lord Wellesley said that he was personally favourable to the conversion of the heathen; but inquired whether it would be safe to circulate the Bible, which taught the doctrine of Christian equality, without the safeguard of a commentary. Mr. Brown replied that he himself would be responsible for all the mischief the Bible might do in India; he, moreover, urged that the Bengalee New Testament, which the missionaries were then printing, would be of great utility in the College of Fort William, which Lord Wellesley was about to establish. The appeal to the public brought in about 1500 rupees, which afforded the missionaries a very seasonable relief. “Such,” writes Mr. Ward, “are the jealousies which our press excites in the mind of the

British government, though we are under the jurisdiction of a foreign power. How long would it have been allowed to exist at Mudnabatty?" This was the last occasion on which Lord Wellesley manifested any feeling of alarm at the proceedings of the missionaries at Serampore. When he became assured that they scrupulously abstained from intermeddling with any political questions, and confined their attention to the instruction of the heathen, he exhibited every disposition to foster rather than to thwart their enterprise, though nearly all the influential members of his government were known to be violently opposed to it.

On the 20th of August, another missionary labourer was cut off by disease. Mr. Fountain, who had laboured in conjunction with Mr. Carey, for four years, at Mudnabatty, came down to Serampore, on the arrival of the "Criterion," and was married to Miss Tidd, who had accompanied the missionaries from England in that vessel. His feeble frame and constitution were ill suited to the fervid climate of Bengal, and he was also devoid of that mental elasticity which distinguished the band who were henceforward designated the Serampore Missionaries. He had mastered the colloquial Bengalee, and pursued his missionary labours with laudable diligence and zeal. He was seized with dysentery at the beginning of the rains, and resolved to return to Dinagapore for change of air, and also with the intention of resuming the missionary labours in which he and Mr. Carey had been occupied in the neighbourhood, supporting himself by the superintendence of an indigo factory. He sank under the complaint on the 20th of August, at the house of Mr. Fernandez. His corpse was escorted to the grave, as was then generally the custom, by a guard of native soldiers, and the judge of the station read the Church of England service over his grave. On the 1st of October, Mr. Marshman delivered his first address to the natives in Bengalee within a twelvemonth

Death of Mr.
Fountain.

Missionary la-
bours at Seram-
pore.

after his arrival in the country, and three weeks after Mr. Ward went out alone to preach to them. Mr. Marshman's knowledge of the colloquial tongue, however, never equalled that of his colleague, who used it with a degree of fluency and point which has seldom been attained by a foreigner. While the missionaries were carrying the Bengalee New Testament through the press, they printed 500 additional copies of the Gospel of Matthew; and the distribution of these books and of Ram-bosoo's tracts created a great stir in the country. In their addresses to the heathen, there was much to discourage and little to animate them. "There is a great deal of patience and self-denial required," says Mr. Ward, "in collecting our congregations, and bearing with all their interruptions and wanderings. You stand by the side of a street or lane, a man passes, you ask him how he does, or whither he is going. Sometimes he replies, at other times he will go on, taking no notice of you. Sometimes he will stay till he has heard your message, and then sets off — if he stops, another stops, and another, and so on till a congregation is gathered. When you are in the middle of your discourse, half of them perhaps sheer off, — some more come — a Brahmin interrupts you, 'Why cannot the river wash from sin?' or some other such question. Tell them they are in the way of everlasting ruin, perhaps one will answer, 'Sahib's words are very fine; Sahib knows all shasters; these are shaster words.' He will then make his salaam and depart. I suppose brother Carey has preached a thousand sermons to such congregations as these."

Mr. Thomas was engaged in superintending his sugar factory in Beerbhoom. It was the redeeming point in his character that, amidst his various secular engagements, he never neglected the instruction of the heathen; the glaring defects of his character were thus in a great measure counterbalanced by his

First candidate
disappoints the
missionaries.

missionary ardour. He visited his brethren at Serampore soon after their arrival, and again in the month of October, 1800, bringing with him, on this latter occasion, Fukeer, a skilful workman on his establishment, who had been led under the influence of his instructions to announce his determination to become a Christian. On the 25th of November, Fukeer came before the church at Serampore, and gave a short, simple, and satisfactory account of the progress of his spiritual feelings, and offered to make an open profession of Christianity. This was the first native, after seven years of severe and discouraging exertion, who had come up to the point of avowing himself a Christian. He was received as a Christian brother, with feelings of indescribable emotion. "We all stood up," writes Mr. Ward, "and sang with new feelings, 'Praise God, from whom all blessings flow.' Each brother shook Fukeer by the hand. The rest your imagination must supply." On this day of "new feelings," Mr. Thomas was called to set the arm of a native in Serampore, which had been dislocated. After the operation was complete, Mr. Thomas began to discourse, with his accustomed fervour, on the folly of idolatry and the superiority of the Christian revelation. The man appeared to be deeply affected by the discourse, and shed tears. His name was Krishnu, by trade a carpenter, and the brother of Goluk, who had repeatedly resorted to the Mission House, and engaged in the daily discussions with the heathen, and was classed among the number of hopeful inquirers. Two days after, Krishnu met Mr. Ward and Mr. Felix Carey (Mr. Carey's eldest son) in the street, with his arm in a sling, and was invited to visit the missionaries for farther instruction, to which he cheerfully consented, remarking that they had not only relieved him from bodily suffering, but had brought good news to his door. Fukeer, who had been received as a candidate for baptism, now proposed to return to Beerbhoom, to take leave of his friends, before he was separated from them for ever. Mr.

Thomas, who dreaded their influence on his mind, determined to accompany him to the district. On reaching the factory, Fukeer requested permission to go to the house of a friend, promising to return in three days, but he never came back, nor were any tidings ever heard of him again. Mr. Thomas, who was always in the extreme of exultation or despondency, returned to Serampore in great depression of spirits. On his arrival, he found Mr. Brunsdon dangerously ill, and his life almost despaired of. A feeling of deep gloom pervaded the missionary circle, and Mr. Ward, in allusion to the case, notes in his journal, "Shall we lose a third brother in little more than a year? Have pity on us, O Lord!" Under the able treatment of Mr. Thomas, the disease was subdued, but Mr. Brunsdon never fully regained his strength.

The discouragement occasioned by the defection of Fukeer was overbalanced by the steady and consistent conduct of Krishnu. He was in daily intercourse with the missionaries, and he received the truths of the Gospel, not only with avidity, but affection. His wife and daughter, to whom he communicated the glad tidings which had warmed his own heart, expressed their determination to unite with him in embracing Christianity, and they all offered themselves as candidates for Christian baptism. It was a season of high and hallowed enjoyment for the missionaries. In writing on the subject, Mr. Ward observes, "We think it right to make many allowances for ignorance, and for a state of mind the fruit of a corrupt superstition; we therefore cannot think of demanding from the candidates before baptism more than a profession of dependence on Christ, and submission to Him in all things. Had some of our brethren with their supralapsarian covenants been here, they must have made some little abatement for poor Goluk and Krishnu. We now begin to talk of baptism. We yesterday fixed on the spot, before our gate in the river. A difficulty has been started that, if we baptize in the

Krishnu Pall, the
first convert.

river, the natives will think we suppose there is something sacred in the Ganges. Others reply that they would rather think we defiled it by the ordinance." It was therefore determined to baptize the candidates in the river. On Monday, the 22nd of December, Goluk and Krishnu openly renounced their caste, by sitting down to the table of the missionaries, and eating with them, to the great surprise of the servants. "Thus," again writes Mr. Ward, "the door of faith is open to the Hindoos, and who shall shut it? Thus is the chain of the caste broken, and who shall mend it?" In the evening Goluk, Krishnu, and his wife and daughter, came before the church, and narrated the progressive steps by which their minds had been led to embrace the religion of Christ. This season of delight, however, was not without its alloy. Mr. Thomas, who was present on the occasion, became frantic with joy. It was seventeen years since he had commenced his labours among the heathen, and the fruition of his hopes, after so many disappointments, destroyed the balance of his mind, and he began to exhibit symptoms of insanity. Within three days he became so violent, as to render it necessary to place him under restraint.

Mr. Thomas's
aberration of
mind.

The report that Krishnu had thrown up his caste, and become a "Feringee"—then the nickname of a Christian—spread rapidly through the town, and created an extraordinary sensation. The next morning a mob of two thousand persons collected in front of his house, uttering violent imprecations on him. They dragged him and Goluk to the magistrate's house, though without any specific charge to bring against them. The magistrate commended the converts for having renounced their caste, and ordered the crowd to disperse. Soon after the mob brought them back, and accused Krishnu of having refused to deliver his daughter to the man to whom she was betrothed. But the converts were again set at liberty, and the girl was assured that she should

Disturbance in
Serampore.

not be compelled to marry against her will. At the same time the governor volunteered to protect the missionaries from all interruption in the approaching administration of the rite of baptism, and placed a native soldier at the gate of Krishnu's house to prevent any molestation. But the missionaries soon found that their hopes had been too sanguine, and that a public profession of a foreign creed, and the entire abandonment of all social and family ties was more formidable to the native mind than they had anticipated. On Saturday morning Krishnu informed them that the courage of Goluk and the women had failed them, and that they were desirous of postponing their baptism for a time; but Krishnu himself remained firm to his resolution.

The next morning, Sunday, the 28th of December, the ordinance of baptism was performed under circumstances the most solemn and distressing. The missionaries assembled with the congregation in the chapel, and Mr. Carey walked down to the river with his eldest son, about to be baptized, and Krishnu, on either side of him. Mr. Thomas, who was confined to his couch, made the air resound with his blasphemous ravings; and Mrs. Carey, shut up in her own room on the opposite side of the path, poured forth the most painful shrieks. At the ghat, or landing stairs, the governor and several Europeans, and a large body of Portuguese, and a dense crowd of Hindoos and Mahomedans, were waiting to witness this novel ceremony. To this assembly Mr. Carey explained that they did not believe there was any Divine virtue in the river, but regarded it as the simple element of water; that Krishnu was formerly of their creed, but professed by the present act to renounce his belief in the gods, and to become a disciple of Jesus Christ. The most perfect silence and a feeling of deep solemnity pervaded the whole assembly, and the governor was melted to tears. In the afternoon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered for the first time in the Bengalee language.

Baptism of the
first convert.

This public celebration of the ordinance of baptism created great excitement through the town and neighbourhood, and the vernacular school was deserted by every lad. The same result has followed at subsequent periods the conversion of native youths in the missionary seminaries; and it is only at the present day, at the end of more than half a century, that the natives of Calcutta, familiarised with desertions from their creed, have ceased to break up the schools on every fresh indication of danger. Thus ended the first and most eventful year of the Serampore mission. It was on a review of these various transactions that Mr. Fuller wrote to them, "You were anxious to settle up the country. God impelled you to settle where you are, that the Sacred Scriptures might be printed without molestation;" adding, in reference to Mr. Marshman's journal, "O blessed for ever be the Lord, and blessed be you. To say give my love to brother Marshman is feeble; if I could send my soul over in a letter, it would come and mingle with your souls, with your labours, your joys, and your sorrows."

At the beginning of 1801 the missionaries had the pleasure of baptizing the first Hindoo female, Joymince, Krishnu's sister-in-law, and also Mr. Fernandez, Mr. Fernandez. a gentleman of Portuguese extraction, who was engaged in the manufacture of indigo and in commercial undertakings in the district of Dinagepore. He was one of the little band of Christians in that neighbourhood who clustered around Mr. Carey while he laboured at Mudnabatty. After his baptism he became one of the most active and successful coadjutors of the Serampore Mission, and devoted his time and resources for more than thirty years to the cause of missions among the heathen around his residence, and was instrumental in raising a large and flourishing native church, which continued under his pastoral care to the time of his death. About a month after Krishnu's wife, and Unnu, another female, were likewise baptized. Mr. Thomas, who had been for a month in

the lunatic asylum in Calcutta, recovered his reason, and, after spending some time with his brethren at Serampore, returned to the scene of his former labours in the neighbourhood of Dinagepore, and endeavoured to support himself by the superintendence of an indigo factory, and preached with even more than his wonted vigour to natives and Europeans.

On the 7th of February, 1801, Mr. Carey enjoyed the supreme delight of receiving the last sheet of the Bengalee New Testament from the press. The types of the greater portion of the volume were set by Mr. Ward himself, assisted by Mr. Felix Carey and by Mr. Brunsdon, when his health permitted him to labour. With such diligence had the work been pressed forward, that the printing of the volume, under every disadvantage, was completed within nine months. The labour which it involved, however severe, was lightened by those animating feelings which the rich prospect of usefulness inspired. As soon as the first copy was bound, it was placed on the communion-table in the chapel, and a meeting was held of the whole of the mission family and the newly baptized heathen, to acknowledge their gratitude to God for the completion of this important work. The expense of the impression, which consisted of 2000 copies, was 612*l*. Mr. Brunsdon, who had derived great benefit from Mr. Thomas's medical skill, now experienced a relapse, and his recovery became more hopeless from day to day. In the prospect of being deprived of his services, Mr. Carey and his associates sent an earnest request to the Society for additional missionaries, remarking that, as it was their wisdom to continue together in one family, "those amiable dispositions which render society a blessing, should be an object of the first magnitude in the choice of a missionary." On the same occasion Mr. Ward wrote thus to a friend:—"The loss of brother Brunsdon will be severely felt. Upon the life of brother Marshman depends half our support from the school. Upon that of

Completion of
the New Testa-
ment at press.

brother Carey depends the translation, and, more than I can describe. I am happy to think that, if I die, Felix Carey will be able to print." He adds, with his characteristic modesty, "I think there are too many encomiums on your last missionaries in the sixth number of your Periodical Accounts. I cannot get out of my mind a public show while I read these accounts,— 'Very fine missionaries to be seen here, walk in, brethren and sisters.' I cannot think that any encomiums of this sort can excite public confidence, or produce the least good."

In the month of April, 1801, Mr. Carey was appointed teacher of Bengalee in the College of Fort William, which had been established by Lord Wellesley in the previous year in Calcutta. The indispensable necessity of such an institution appears to have

Necessity of a college for the civilians.

been forced on his mind as soon as he assumed charge of the government in 1798. For forty years previous to this period the East India Company had been engaged in administering the government of thirty millions of people, and in political negotiations with native potentates; but no attempt was deemed necessary to raise the qualifications of the public servants and fit them for these responsibilities. The selection and education of the members of the civil service were regulated by the same principle which had been adopted when they had no higher duties to perform than to count bales or appraise muslins. The men who were to undertake the important office of judges, magistrates, collectors, and ambassadors were considered sufficiently qualified for their duties if they were versed in the mysteries of the counting-house, wrote a legible hand, and understood book-keeping by double entry. Some of the writers, as the young civilians were called, consisted, however, of youths who had been educated at the public schools in England; but they were withdrawn from their studies at the premature age of fourteen or fifteen, before their education was completed. No arrangements were made by the

Defective education of the civilians.

local government to prepare the civilians, after their arrival in Calcutta, for the discharge of the important duties which were to devolve on them ; and they were nominated to some of the highest posts of government without any evidence of their qualifications for them. Some were sent, on their arrival, into the interior of the country, and placed as assistants in various departments. In too many instances, their superiors in office, obtaining no benefit from their services, left them without occupation, and many gave up their time to those enjoyments which their position enabled them to command, without making any effort to prepare themselves for public duty. They remained sunk in indolence until they rose, by the tide of seniority, to situations of public trust. Those who were attached to offices in Calcutta, were, in accordance with the express and repeated injunctions of the Court of Directors, employed in copying papers ; a mechanical duty which might have been better performed by a native or Portuguese clerk. Lord Wellesley, in his College minute, remarks that “ the civilians had thus, at the close of two or three years, lost the fruits of their European studies, without having gained any useful knowledge of Asiatic literature or business. Those whose dispositions lead them to idleness and dissipation, find greater temptations to indulgence and extravagance at the Presidency than in the provinces, and many instances occur in which they fall into irretrievable courses of gaming and vice, and totally destroy their health and fortune.”

The anomalies of this lax system could not fail to attract the attention of so eminent a statesman as Lord Wellesley. After he had been seven months in the country, he announced it as his opinion that no civil servant should be nominated to certain offices of trust and responsibility until it was ascertained that he was sufficiently acquainted with the laws and regulations of government, and the languages of the country. He allowed the young men two years

Lord Wellesley
establishes the
College.

to acquire these qualifications, and fixed January, 1801, as the period, after which no appointment would be given except to those who had passed an examination in the native languages. Mr. Gilchrist was at the time the most eminent Hindoostanee scholar in Calcutta, and Lord Wellesley encouraged him to establish lectures, and directed the civilians to attend them. Four days after the issue of this notification, he embarked for Madras to superintend military operations against Tippoo Sultan. On his return to Calcutta, he appointed a committee to ascertain the progress made by Mr. Gilchrist's pupils, and was induced by their report to carry into immediate effect the establishment of a collegiate institution which he had long been contemplating, and in which "their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals, should be so ordered and regulated as to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties."

The range of studies marked out for the students in the college were very extensive. It embraced the modern languages of Europe, the Greek, Latin, and English classics; geography and mathematics, general history, ancient and modern, natural history, botany, chemistry and astronomy, ethics and jurisprudence, the law of nations and of England; and, in reference to Indian studies, the Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindoostanee, Bengalee, Teloo goo, Mahratta, Tamul, and Canarese languages, and the history and antiquities of Hindoostan and the Deccan. It was the design of Lord Wellesley to assemble the young civilians from all the Presidencies at this central college in Calcutta, to complete their public education under a uniform system of study and discipline. No promotion was to be given in the public service throughout India in any branch of the service held by civilians except through the channel of the college. To check the course of extravagance, which was the bane of the service, it was provided that no civilian

Nature and
studies of the
college.

who was in debt should, after a given period, be admitted into the college; at the same time, means were devised for liquidating the debts which they had already incurred. The proficiency required of the students was fixed at a high standard; and, before any civilian could obtain a degree, he was required to demonstrate his knowledge of the native languages by holding—in regard to the service in Bengal—four disputations in the Persian or Bengalee language before all Calcutta, in “an august assembly, comprised of the natives of rank and learning, rajahs, foreign ministers, pundits, and moonshees.” Lord Wellesley proposed to erect a spacious and magnificent edifice for the institution in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta, at Garden Reach, suitable for the accommodation of all the professors and five hundred students; with a public hall, library, chapel, and other requisite apartments. The College was to be considered one of the most important departments of the state; and the senior members of government were required, by virtue of their office, to take a share in its management. The Rev. David Brown, the senior chaplain, was appointed Provost, and to him was entrusted the duty of watching over the morals and conduct of the students. The Rev. Claudius Buchanan was nominated Vice-provost, and regulated the course of their studies; while the internal management of the institution was placed in the hands of Mr. George Barlow, the senior member of council. It was to the sound judgment and unwearied exertions of Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Barlow that the College was indebted for that high state of efficiency which it so speedily acquired. Lord Wellesley was aware that the most plausible and strenuous objection advanced against his college in Leadenhall Street would be on the score of expense; and he contrived, by various means, to anticipate this obstacle without encroaching on the public resources. In the despatch proposing the institution for the approbation of the Court of Directors, he stated that,

although the sources of income which he had devised would, according to his calculation, be found sufficient for the present exigencies of the College, yet, as the institution was "intended to establish the British empire in India, on the solid foundations of ability, integrity, virtue, and religion, it would produce a most salutary impression throughout the country if they were immediately to endow it with an annual rent-charge on the public revenue."

Such was the grand institution which Lord Wellesley projected, to qualify the public functionaries for their official duties. It was the noblest and most comprehensive plan of usefulness which had been devised since the factory had grown into an empire, and it exhibited in the strongest light the master mind of its author. It embodied a sound and important principle, and the principle has survived the abolition of the institution. When the plan of the College was mature, Lord Wellesley, in that spirit of independence which marked his proceedings, and which—however palliated by the circumstances of the time, when communication with England was so uncertain—rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the Court of Directors, proceeded at once to establish the Institution. On the 9th of July, 1800, he brought forward his proposition for the first time in council, and induced his colleagues to unite with him in recommending the subject to the Directors. The next day he placed on record his elaborate minute on the College, a document of permanent interest. At the same sitting the council passed the resolution for the immediate establishment of the College of Fort William; but as Lord Wellesley was desirous, with a touch of pardonable vanity, of associating this great undertaking with the first military triumph of his administration in Mysore, which in his opinion "had established the ascendancy of the British power over all the states of India," he directed that the foundation of the college should bear the date of the 4th

Defence of the
college.

of May, 1800, the first anniversary of the decisive and glorious victory obtained by the British arms at Seringapatam. The medals struck to commemorate the institution of the College bore that date, and presented on the obverse a beautiful engraving of Tippoo's capital. At the close of the year a notification was issued throughout India, announcing the establishment of the College, and inviting men of learning in its various provinces to proceed to Calcutta and accept the office of teachers, of which more than fifty availed themselves.

It is worthy of notice as one of the most important improvements connected with the College, that the study of the Bengalee language was for the first time enforced on the members of the civil service. Bengalee first cultivated in the college. From the period when the British government undertook the internal administration of Bengal and Behar, the business of the Courts had been conducted exclusively in Persian. Persian was introduced as the language of public business by the Mohammedan conquerors of India; and as the British functionaries, who stepped into their seat, determined to make as few innovations as possible, they allowed that language to maintain its position. Every civil servant, therefore, applied to the study of Persian, nor was he required or expected to understand the language of the people among whom he administered justice. Persian occupied, in fact, the same position in the British institutions in India, as French among the Norman institutions of England. Lord Wellesley appears to have been the first Governor-General who appreciated the importance of a knowledge of the vernacular language by those who presided in the civil, criminal, and fiscal courts. He did not deem it advisable to alter the language of judicial proceedings, which, indeed, could not have been attempted without serious embarrassment, but he laid the foundation of future improvement by the cultivation of the different vernacular tongues. So slow is the progress of sound principles in

India, not less than elsewhere, and so inveterate are prejudices, even when most absurd, that thirty-five years were subsequently allowed to elapse before Persian was banished from the courts, and Bengalee substituted for it. At the time of which we treat, there was but one man in Bengal duly qualified to undertake the office of teaching Bengalee, but he was a missionary, and the government was inimical to missionary efforts. But Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan were determined, if possible, to secure the services of Mr. Carey in the new College, and on the 8th of April, 1801, Mr. Brown made the proposal to him. He consulted his two colleagues, and stated his doubts as to the propriety of accepting the office; but they urged him not to decline it, if it could be held consistently with his missionary engagements. Mr. Carey then explained to Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan the difficulty he felt in accepting their offer, partly from his position as a missionary, and partly from his inadequate knowledge of Bengalee. They assured him that the office would require no compromise of his missionary character, and that, as to his qualifications, they were able to form their own judgment on that subject. The next day they proposed Mr. Carey to Lord Wellesley, stating without disguise, that he had been a missionary to the heathen for seven years, and that the appointment would be accepted only with the understanding that he was still to consider himself a missionary. Lord Wellesley raised no objection on this ground, but simply inquired whether he was well affected to government and capable of fulfilling the duties of the office. Mr. Brown replied, that he should not have proposed his name, if he had entertained the slightest doubt on the subject.

Mr. Carey appointed a teacher in the college.

Mr. Carey commenced his duties on the 12th of May, in the inferior grade of teacher, on a salary of 500rs. a month. This circumstance arose from the peculiar provisions relative to religious qualification which had

been introduced into the statutes. The laws of England which imposed disabilities on all nonconformists had never been extended to the foreign dependencies of the country; and the East India Company, ^{Religious tests in the college.} from the most remote period; had always acted on the most liberal principle of religious toleration. At the time when the Test and Corporation Acts were enforced with severity in England, the government of India repudiated all sectarian tests. In India, it had never been considered necessary that any functionary should qualify himself for measuring muslins, or taking the command of regiments, or collecting the public revenues, by the profession of any particular creed. Every office of every description was open to all candidates without reservation. The first departure from this enlightened policy was exhibited in the statutes of the College of Fort William, drawn up by Mr. Buchanan, who had been brought up a Presbyterian, but was now a member of the Church of England. He introduced a clause requiring "all the superior officers, the professors, and lecturers solemnly and faithfully to promise and declare that they would not maintain publicly or privately any doctrines or opinions contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England." Those who were not members of that community were thus excluded from the higher appointments in the College; but, to meet the case of Dissenters and Roman Catholics, a lower class of officers was created, from whom no such declaration was required, and whose allowances were fixed at a maximum of 500 rs. a month. This appointment to the College was a source of great gratification to Mr. Carey and his associates, chiefly from the prospect it afforded them of becoming independent of support from England. In his letter to Mr. Fuller, of the 15th of the following June, Mr. Carey said, "Our school has increased, and, together with my allowance from the College, will, we trust, support us without further help from England. We therefore intend to place the dollars

and the 100*l.* recently received, at interest, and not to touch it, but to do all we can to establish such a fund as may contribute to the permanency of the Mission." In a subsequent letter he adds, "I drew on Esdaile & Co., a few days ago, for 51*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; probably the last we may have occasion to draw for, except we should want it for printing."

The rupture between England and Denmark at the close of 1800 led the British government to sequester the Danish settlements in India. On the 8th of May, 1801, a detachment of troops was sent across the river from the cantonment at Barrackpore, who took possession of the town of Serampore. At ten in the forenoon, the missionaries, together with the other foreigners residing there, were required to attend upon the English Commissioner at the king's house, who expressed his regret at the trouble he had given them, and assured them that they were at liberty to pursue their respective avocations as usual. The missionaries were thus deprived of the friendly protection of the crown of Denmark, and were completely within the power of those who, but for that protection, would have expelled them from the country eighteen months before. It was natural for them to entertain some feelings of disquietude in the new position in which they now stood; but Lord Wellesley no longer regarded their missionary enterprise with alarm, and they were therefore safe. Nor did they fail to contrast, with feelings of the deepest gratitude to God, the security they now enjoyed, with the danger to which they would have been exposed if the settlement had been captured by the English at an earlier period. During the eighteen months in which the town remained in the hands of British officers, the missionaries were permitted to prosecute their labours without interruption. Soon after this event, they were called to mourn the loss of another of their little band. Mr. Brunsdon, who had been suffering for nine months from a lingering disease, died in Calcutta

Capture of Serampore by the English.

on the 3rd of July, at the early age of twenty-four, after having given the highest promise of an active and useful career. He was interred in the public burial ground, and Mr. Carey performed the funeral service, and addressed the natives who were attracted to the scene. No sectarian distinction was then made in the use of these cemeteries. They had been originally established by government, or created by private subscriptions, as the common receptacle of the dead, with whatever denomination they might have been connected while living. The friends of the deceased were at liberty to accept the aid of any minister of the Gospel, and to use any form of service they preferred. But as soon as a bishopric was created in India, the cemeteries were successively consecrated, generally without asking permission of government, and that which had been considered from time immemorial the common property of the Christian community in India, came into the exclusive possession of one body. This historical reference is necessary to account for the interment of a Dissenter in the Presidency burial-ground, and the performance of the funeral service by one of his own brethren. But so entirely foreign were all such sectarian feelings to that period, that Mr. Brown assured Mr. Carey that if he had been aware of Mr. Brunsdon's decease in Calcutta, he would have offered his remains a grave within the episcopal chapel in which he officiated.

Death of Mr.
Brunsdon.

In the month of August, Goluk, who had been among the first inquirers at Serampore, but hesitated for a time to embrace Christianity, was received into the church by baptism. These accessions, and the prospect of others, brought under consideration the question of giving Christian names to the converts on their baptism. Mr. Carey opposed the practice, not only because he could perceive no necessary connection between the rite of Christian baptism and a change of name, but also because it did not appear to have been usual in the apostolic age to repudiate such names of

Question of re-
naming the con-
verts.

heathen origin as Sylvanus, Olympias, Hermes, Nereus, and Fortunatus. Mr. Ward and Mr. Marshman fully concurred in this view of the case, and it was resolved not to impose any new names on the converts at their baptism. It was reserved for other missionary communities, at a subsequent period, to sanction such anomalies as Matthew Chuker-butt, and Timothy Tarachand, which only serve to present Christianity in a more foreign and repulsive aspect to the heathen. The increase of the school constrained the missionaries to enlarge their premises, and in October, 1801, they purchased the adjoining house and grounds, which Mr. Ward described as one of the finest in Serampore, for 10,340 rs. By this addition, they obtained suitable accommodation for the school, and the printing and binding establishments; as well as for additional missionaries. But, while they were ready to expend large sums for premises adapted to their extended operations, their household and personal expenditure was regulated by the sternest economy. They all dined together at four long tables, missionaries, wives, children, and scholars:—"We live moderately," writes Mr. Ward, "and drink only rum and water. We have always a little cheap fruit; goats' flesh, — the same as mutton, — broth, fowls, with a little beef sometimes, and curry, but we have good wheaten bread."

After a residence of two years at Serampore, the missionaries began to itinerate in the interior of the country, at some distance from the town. Krishnu, the first itinerating journey. first convert, though only a carpenter by birth and trade, possessed great natural talent, and considerable fluency of speech. The first occasion on which the propriety of employing native itinerants in the work of the mission came under discussion, was in August in the present year. "It appears to us all," writes Mr. Ward, "that we ought to make the most of the gifts of our Hindoo friends, and we are thinking how to occupy Krishnu so as to make him useful in the vineyard." He

was, therefore, encouraged to accompany the missionaries in their preaching excursions round Serampore; and Mr. Ward determined to take him as a companion in the missionary tour which he undertook in October. They visited Chandernagore, Chinsurah, and Hooghly; and then proceeded eastward till they reached Dehatta, where, as already stated, Mr. Carey resided for a few months on his arrival in the country. They were absent a fortnight, and preached daily in the various villages on the route; and excited great interest by the novelty of their addresses to the heathen, and more especially by the distribution of printed books and pamphlets, which had never before been seen in the country. The discussions in which they engaged regarding the merits of Hindooism and Moham-medanism were found to excite much opposition among the wealthy, but the poor appear to have received the Gospel message with pleasure. The demand for books exceeded their highest expectation. The natives crowded around the boat, demanding them with great importunity; and if the supply had been fivefold greater, it must speedily have been exhausted.

On Mr. Ward's return to Serampore, he learned, with deep regret, that Mr. Thomas had sunk under an attack of ague and fever at Dinagepore on the 13th of October. Thus, within two years, to the day, of their arrival at Serampore, four out of the Death and character of Mr. Thomas. seven labourers who formed the missionary circle in Bengal were removed by death; and there remained only the three eminent men at Serampore, Carey, Marshman, and Ward. Mr. Thomas was the first Protestant missionary who preached to the natives of Northern India in their own language; and he continued his missionary labours, with occasional interruptions, for fifteen years. The faults of his character greatly diminished his usefulness, but did not neutralise it, and they were often thrown into the shade by outbursts of kindness and generosity. When warm in his work, few men have ever produced a more powerful

impression on an auditory. It was impossible, however, to dovetail him into any system of exertions. The alternations of ecstasy and depression, zeal and apathy, which he exhibited, made him a very undesirable associate: but it must not be forgotten that this arose from his physical, and not his moral, temperament; and that the mental disease which sent him, for a time, to an asylum was doubtless inherent in his constitution. Though "unstable as water," he did not excel; yet, as the first and among the most ardent and zealous missionaries, his name will always be remembered with esteem. On the 4th of November, another Hindoo female was baptized, Komul, the wife of Goluk. "We have now," writes Mr. Marshman, "six baptized Hindoos, whom we esteem more precious than an equal number of valuable gems. We need great prudence in our intercourse with them. We are obliged to strengthen, to encourage, to counteract, to advise, to disapprove, to teach, and yet to do all so as to endear the Saviour to them, and to retain a place in their warmest affections." Mr. Fuller's reply to the communications which announced their success, breathed a spirit of the warmest cordiality. "Through the medium of their and your struggles, we read the Acts and the Epistles, as it were, with new eyes, and seem to behold as in a mirror the Christianity of the early ages. We can truly say of you, dear brethren, and both we and you of them, 'Now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord!' We do most heartily rejoice in your faithfulness, diligence, prudence, unanimity, and in all the good which the Lord hath wrought for you and by you."

On the first Sunday in 1802, the Serampore missionaries had the pleasure of baptising the first convert of the Kayust, or writer caste. The position of this tribe in the social scale is second only to that of the sacerdotal tribe, though its members are fully equal, and generally superior, to the Brahmins in wealth, intelligence, and enterprise. Petumber Sing, the convert,

Baptism of the
first Kayust.

was nearly sixty years of age, of an active and inquisitive mind, and great simplicity of character. He had read all the native religious works which then existed in manuscript, and had travelled to many shrines to discover a system of religious belief in which he could place confidence. The result of his inquiries, however, only served to increase his dissatisfaction with the national creed, and he quietly relinquished the worship of idols. In this state of mind, one of the tracts distributed by Mr. Ward, in his recent missionary tour, fell into his hands, and told him that the missionaries at Serampore had come from a distant land to promote the eternal happiness of the Hindoos, and that salvation was to be obtained only through the atonement of Christ. He lost no time in proceeding to Serampore, a distance of thirty miles, in order to hear more of this "new way." After receiving instruction for two or three days, he returned to his family to impart the glad tidings to them, promising to return in a fortnight. He was again at Serampore before a week had elapsed, and threw up his caste by eating with the missionaries, and was received into the Christian church by baptism. In the month of February, two other Kayusts, and likewise a Brahmin, came forward voluntarily, and renounced caste. The Brahmin was a koolin of the highest and proudest grade of Brahminhood, but had long ceased to place any faith in Hindooism. His aversion to the popular system of idolatry appears to have been excited while he was employed in committing to memory the English Primer, then in vogue, which began with a vocabulary, and ended with a metrical translation of the Ten Commandments, one couplet of which was indelibly fixed in his memory. It ran thus:—

"Adore no other gods, but only One:
Worship not God by anything you see."

On this occasion, Mr. Carey writes to Mr. Fuller in language of great exultation: "Both Europeans and natives

laughed at what they thought to be our enthusiastic idea of breaking the bonds of the Hindoo caste by preaching the Gospel. When Krishnu and Goluk rejected their caste, many wondered at it; but the majority endeavoured to carry it off with a high hand, and tauntingly asked, Have any of the Brahmins and Kayusts believed on him? What great thing to have a carpenter and a distiller reject their caste? Lately, however, the Lord has deprived them of that small consolation, and has given us one Kayust, who joined the church a little while ago. Last week, two more of the same caste and one Brahmin came and voluntarily rejected their caste without our proposing it. We have neither time nor occasion to go out to preach as much as formerly. Our printing-press now sends out missionaries — New Testaments, pamphlets, and tracts; and the people who come to us for instruction are frequently as many as we can attend to."

The circulation of these tracts roused the indignation of not a few influential natives; and a Hindoo of great consideration in Calcutta showed some of them to one of the judges of the Sudder, or Chief, Court of Appeal in Calcutta, who was known to be unfriendly to missions, and inquired whether the Government had authorised these remarks on the popular faith, to the great discomfort of the people. The judge appeared to be shocked at such proceedings, and, after consulting with some other alarmists, determined to bring the matter officially before the Vice-president, at a private audience, after the next levee. Lord Wellesley had quitted Calcutta in the preceding month of August, for the north-west provinces, leaving Mr. George Barlow to preside at the Council-board. Mr. Barlow, when not under the influence of Lord Wellesley's master mind and dauntless spirit, relapsed into the morbid timidity and little-mindedness of the "old Indians;" and the introduction of such a subject during his incumbency might have led to embarrassing results. Mr. Buchanan happened to overhear the conver-

Effect produced
by the tracts.

sation at the levee, and advised the judge to procure a translation of the tract, and read it himself, before he committed himself to any farther movement in this matter. By his advice, all the tracts were sent to Mr. Carey to be turned into English; and the judge's intention was eventually dropped, to the no small relief of the Serampore missionaries, who were not ignorant of the prejudices entertained against them in high circles, and who felt that they were safe only as long as they attracted no notice. This dread of the consequence of diffusing Christian truth was accompanied, as might naturally have been expected, by a corresponding respect for "native prejudices;" as will be manifest from the following fact recorded by Mr. Ward in his journal: — "Last week, a deputation from the Government went in procession to Kalee Ghat, and made a thank offering to this goddess of the Hindoos, in the name of the Company, for the success which the English have lately obtained in this country. Five thousand rupees were offered. Several thousand natives witnessed the English presenting their offerings to this idol. We have been much grieved at this act, in which the natives exult over us." Kalee Ghat, in the northern suburb of the metropolis, is the most opulent and popular idolatrous shrine within many miles of Calcutta.

Government patronage of Kalee Ghat.

Mr. George Udny, to whom Mr. Carey was indebted for an asylum at Mudnabatty in 1794, had been promoted to the Supreme Council in October, 1801. He was the warm and steady friend of the missionary cause, and, indeed, of every other benevolent movement. On being raised to power, he lost no time in calling the attention of Lord Wellesley to the atrocities which were perpetrated annually at the great festival at Gunga Saugor, — at the confluence of the Ganges and the sea, — where children were constantly sacrificed by their parents in connection with religious vows; and he warmly advocated the immediate suppression of a practice so

Abolition of the sacrifice of children at Kalee Ghat.

revolting to humanity. It had hitherto been the policy of the government of India, to avoid most scrupulously all interference with the religious prejudices of the natives; and to permit the most sanguinary rites, whenever it was alleged by orthodox Hindoos that they were sanctioned by the shasters. Lord Wellesley was the first Governor-General to break up this system of guilty connivance, and it was effected with his characteristic boldness. Mr. Carey's position in the College was supposed to give him peculiar advantages for investigating such a question; and he was required to examine the authorities which were adduced for this purpose, and to make a report to Government. "You may be sure," he writes to Mr. Fuller, "that I shall make my report as full as possible, and do it with the greatest pleasure; for I consider that the burning of women, the burying them alive with their husbands, as in the case of many jogees, the exposure of infants, and the sacrifice of children at Saugor, ought not to be permitted, whatever religious motives may be pretended, because they are all crimes against the State." In his report to Government, he urged the immediate prohibition of the practice; and the beneficial result of his labours was speedily visible in the enactment of a regulation in August, 1802, which peremptorily interdicted the drowning of children at Saugor under severe penalties,—and upon the ground that, although the practice was connected with superstitious vows, it was not sanctioned by the Hindoo shasters. This fact, however, did not in any measure detract from the moral courage evinced by the prohibition, inasmuch as those superstitious practices are in many cases most inveterate where there is least sanction for them in the religious canon. A detachment of sepoys was posted at Saugor, on the next recurrence of the festival, who, though themselves Hindoos, effectually enforced the orders of Government. This was the first instance of any interference by the British Government with the religious observances of the natives, and the first

vindication of the principles of humanity in opposition to the superstitious feelings of the people. To the astonishment of the whole body of Christian alarmists, it created no rebellion, and scarcely even a murmur; and when it was followed up, after the long interval of twenty-seven years, by the abolition of female immolation, it was found to have gone so completely out of memory that some of the most strenuous advocates of suttee asserted that the sacrifice of children at Saugor had never been practised.

With the appointment of Mr. Carey to the College commenced the publication of works in the Bengalee language. Not a single prose work was found to exist when he delivered his first lecture in May, 1801. ^{First publication of Bengalee works.} The native literati who prided themselves on their knowledge of the classical Sanskrit, had never condescended to improve the language of the people. It has been already stated, that the first book in which Bengalee types were used was Halhed's Bengalee Grammar, printed at Hooghly at the press established by Mr. Andrews, a bookseller, in 1778. The next notice extant of any printed work in that tongue was the translation of the first code of the British Government in India, compiled by Sir Elijah Impey, after he had been wisely, though unconstitutionally, appointed to preside in the Sudder Court of Calcutta by Mr. Hastings in 1781, and this became the basis of all subsequent legislation. The Bengalee translation was spontaneously executed by a young gentleman in the civil service—Mr. Jonathan Duncan—in the brief period of two months, and printed at the "Company's press." The code of Lord Cornwallis in 1793 was also published in Bengalee, but as these works were ill-adapted to the studies of his class, Mr. Carey found it necessary to create books for their use. He, therefore, employed Ram-bosoo, to whom allusion has already been made, as having been almost persuaded to become a Christian, to compile a History of King Pritapadityu, an edition of which was published in July, 1801, at the Seram-

pore press, and this may be regarded as the first prose work—the laws and the tracts excepted—printed in the Bengalee language. After the lapse of more than half a century, and at a time when thirty native presses are in active operation in Calcutta, and 30,000 volumes are sent into circulation annually, it is interesting to look back to the first germ of Bengalee literature in the missionary press at Serampore. At the same time, Mr. Carey compiled a grammar of that language, which was printed a few months after; as well as a series of Colloquies, intended to familiarise the students with the ordinary modes of conversation in the different classes of native society. It was eminently idiomatic, and exhibited an extraordinary acquaintance with native habits of thought and feeling. These works were followed by a Bengalee translation of the Sanskrit Hetopudes, executed by the chief pundit of the College; and arrangements were also made for publishing an edition of the metrical version of the great epic poem, the Muhubharat, which was deservedly popular throughout the country. About this time, Mr. Carey was appointed teacher of Sanskrit in the College—though without any addition to his allowances—and he immediately undertook the compilation of a grammar of that language. In February of the present year, the mission-

Plan for educating native Christian children.

aries drew up a plan for educating the children of native converts, and of youths who might renounce their caste. The first expense of purchasing the ground, walling it in, and erecting huts, was calculated at 1000 rupees, and the annual expenditure at 1200 rupees; that is, 40 rupees a month for three teachers, and 3 rupees monthly for the maintenance of the twenty youths whom they proposed to receive. It was intended to give them instruction in divinity, history, geography, and astronomy, and in the English and Bengalee languages. In the prospectus of this institution, the missionaries remark, that “to provide for the education of these native youths in those principles which

enlarge the mind, lead to the worship and service of the true God, and to a holy and useful life, cannot fail to be essentially advantageous to society, and might be the means, in a few years, of sending out into this part of the heathen world persons who shall be peculiarly instrumental in turning their fellow-countrymen from darkness to light, and from dumb idols to serve the living and true God." In the month of May another Kayust of the name of Samdass was baptized at Serampore; but he was murdered a few months after while proceeding on a visit to his family.

During this year, Mr. Carey, Mr. Marshman, and Krishnu, paid a visit to the leader of a new sect. Notwithstanding the vaunted immutability of Hindoo institutions, sect after sect of heretics

Visit to the
heresiarch,
Ram-doolal.

had sprung up in the native community, and drawn off multitudes from the orthodox creed. About forty years before the close of the last century, a native cowherd had acquired considerable reputation among the people by his skill in healing diseases. He pretended to great sanctity, and drew a number of disciples around him, on whom he bestowed the privilege of drinking the water in which he had dipped his toe, and exacted from them the acknowledgment of his spiritual supremacy. They were directed at the same time to disregard the idols and to believe in one God alone. His fame was rapidly diffused through the country, and disciples flocked to him from all parts, and the new sect at length comprised many thousand converts, who supplied his necessities with liberality. On the death of the cowherd, his widow, anxious to perpetuate so profitable a delusion, placed her son on the spiritual throne, and he continued to dispense the "churun umritta," or water of immortality, by the medium of his toe, as his father had done before him. Ram-doolal, the son, had established his head-quarters at Ghosepara, within thirty miles of Serampore, where his adherents had built him a magnificent mansion. The

missionaries reached this stately edifice on the 16th. of April, and were ushered into the garden as the teachers of the Christian religion. They were accommodated with the European luxury of chairs, and a rich satin cushion was placed for the heresiarch. In a few moments, the well-fed and corpulent gooroo, or spiritual guide, made his appearance, and took his seat. A few of his select disciples were admitted to the conference, the rest were dismissed by a nod. Krishnu, who had once been numbered among his disciples, stood behind Mr. Carey's chair, and confronted his old master with the New Testament under his arm. After some time had passed in interrogations and replies, with great keenness of argument, Mr. Carey opened his message, and stated that God had sent the revelation of his word to India to point out to the natives the true mode of salvation; and he then presented him with a copy of the New Testament. Ram-doolal was evidently disconcerted, as the acceptance of the volume might have been interpreted by his disciples as a token of mistrust of his own religious pretensions. He therefore politely declined the gift, with the remark, "This is the first time I have seen you; your words are very good, but we must be farther acquainted before I can accept anything at your hands." The missionaries parted with him in peace and courtesy. "Though this journey," remarks Mr. Ward, "did not, to all appearance, produce anything to the mission, yet it has opened to us the history of a numerous sect of Hindoos, who live constantly in the secret violation of their caste."

On the 10th of May, Mr. Ward was married to the widow of Mr. Fountain, at the Mission House, by Mr. Carey, and the connection proved a source of great mutual happiness during the twenty year of its continuance. Her previous marriage with Mr. Fountain was solemnised by Mr. Buchanan, according to the rites of the Church of England. The missionaries had subsequently made inquiries of Mr. Brown, the senior

Marriage of Mr. Ward. Dissenting marriages in India.

chaplain at the Presidency, whether there was any legal impediment to the celebration of marriages by themselves, more especially as they hoped at no distant period to have occasion to introduce Christian marriages among their native converts. He informed them that the Marriage Act which was in force in England had not been extended to India; that marriages were constantly performed by civil and military officers at various stations in the country, with the full approbation of Government, and that marriages solemnised by Dissenting ministers would not be deemed invalid. Thirty years after, Dr. Daniel Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, addressed Government on this subject, and asserted that, if such irregularities as marriages by any but an episcopal clergyman were permitted, "a flood of vice and disorder, the ruin and misery of the young, the disturbance of family relations, the wanton riot of headstrong passion and misrule, and the contempt of the religious vow of marriage, might break in on society." After this violent denunciation on the part of Dr. Wilson, it became necessary to make a vigorous effort to secure to Dissenters in India the enjoyment of those rights which had been conceded to them in England; but it was not till after a protracted struggle of ten years that Dissenting marriages in India were placed by law on the same footing of validity as those of episcopal ministers.

In the month of May, three Mahomedans visited Serampore from a village in the district of Jessore. They were the first men of that creed who had come forward to make inquiries about the Gospel; but their faith in Mahomed had been previously shaken, and they were anxious to ascertain the nature of this new religion of which the tidings had now spread far and wide. The missionaries held repeated conversations with them, and patiently replied to all their inquiries, though many of them betrayed a degree of ignorance of the nature and attributes of God, which was scarcely to have been expected among men who were not idolaters. They appear

First visit of
Mahomedans.

at length to have received something like a clear view of the plan of redemption through the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, but it was found to be exceedingly difficult to eradicate from their minds many absurd notions which from long habit had acquired the force of truth. They professed to be delighted with all they had heard, and pressed the missionaries to visit them in their own village. Their motive was evidently pure and disinterested; they refused to receive anything for their support during their sojourn at Serampore, and would only accept a trifle on their departure to pay their boat hire to Chogda. They returned laden with tracts and Scriptures. On the 13th of June, of this year, Miss Rhumohr, the daughter of Count Rhumohr, of the Duchy of Schleswick, who had been advised to resort to India for the benefit of her health, and had taken up her residence at the healthy town of Serampore, was received into the church by adult baptism, which was administered in the presence of the former Governor of Serampore, the British Commissioner, and the European inhabitants of the settlement. We shall have occasion to allude to Miss Rhumohr, hereafter, as the second wife of Mr. Carey.

The plan which the Serampore missionaries devised in the present year for the education of the children of missionaries, exhibits in the strongest light their anxiety to domesticate their missionary undertaking in India. They had themselves relinquished every idea of ever returning to England, and they resolved to make India, not only their own home, but the home of their families. Hence they repudiated the universal custom of sending children to England for education, lest the associations in which they might be trained up there should divert their minds from missionary labour in the East. Mr. Marshman now proposed that the best practicable arrangements should be made to complete their education at Serampore, after which it should be left to their option to be employed in some department of the

Plan for educating the children of missionaries.

missionary establishment, upon a suitable allowance, or to engage in secular occupation. It was hoped that their connection with this missionary institution would in many cases create a desire to engage in direct missionary labours, in which case they were to be sent forth, in the first instance, as itinerants, and eventually proposed for acceptance by the Society. This plan at the first received the cordial assent of his two brethren, but it was never carried into effect. It was felt to be repugnant to the best feelings of the heart to deprive their children of those healthy associations in England in which they themselves had been trained up, and which are found to be essential to the mental and moral, as well as physical, vigour of Europeans in India. The plan is noticed chiefly for the evidence it affords of that entire consecration of themselves and their funds, and the prospects of their families, to the cause in which they had embarked. Mr. Marshman, with whom it originated, had rendered the boarding-school so efficient and popular in the course of two years, that it yielded an income of nearly 1000*l.* a year; yet he took no larger sum for the personal expenses of his family than 34*l.* a year. The same spirit of disinterestedness animated both his colleagues. The corresponding allowance of Mr. and Mrs. Ward from the proceeds of the press was only 20*l.* a year; and Mr. Carey, out of his collegiate income of 600*l.* a year, had no larger sum than 40*l.* annually for himself, his wife, and family, with a small addition of 20*l.* to enable him to appear in what they termed "decent apparel" at the College and at Government House.

But these plans of usefulness were now threatened with interruption by the hostility of the Court of Directors to the College, which not only supplied Mr. Carey with 500 rupees a month, but gave him the inestimable advantage of intercourse with the most learned natives of the East, and enabled him to carry forward the translation of the Scriptures with greater

Court of Directors order the abolition of the College.

confidence. On the 27th of January, 1802, the Court of Directors issued a peremptory order for the immediate abolition of the institution. They were unable to appreciate the liberal and comprehensive views of Lord Wellesley regarding the administration of their extensive empire. There was, moreover, no feeling of cordiality between the Governor-General and the Court. They regarded him with feelings of unmitigated mistrust, and he treated them with ill-disguised contempt. They could not brook the lofty spirit of independence which characterised his proceedings, and which was rendered the more galling by the ostentatious humility of that deference which he appeared to pay to their official position. All his measures were viewed with a jaundiced eye, and the Directors seemed to feel a degree of personal gratification when an opportunity presented itself of thwarting his plans. The College had been established without their permission, and they stated that they could not sanction such a departure from their established system, the tendency of all such deviations being to weaken the authority which was constitutionally placed in England. Apart, however, from the personal feeling against Lord Wellesley by which many of the Directors were influenced, there were two difficulties connected with the College, in addition to the expense which it involved. Even the unprejudiced members of the Court considered it unwise that the education of the civilians in European knowledge should be prosecuted and completed in India, and they wished that the College should be confined to the study of Oriental subjects. They objected, likewise, to the assemblage of all the young men attached to the other Presidencies in Calcutta. These objections were valid and not factious. While the question of the College was under consideration in Leadenhall Street, another element of discord was unexpectedly thrown into the discussion, the influence of which proved fatal to the institution. A great effort had been made to extend the privileges of private

traders in India, and Lord Wellesley was anxious to promote this liberal policy, to which the rigid monopolists in the Court were violently opposed. At this juncture a public letter was received from him at the India House, advocating this principle with much earnestness, and it gave no little encouragement to the abettors of free trade, and corresponding umbrage to their opponents, who, possessing a majority in the Court, determined to visit the Governor-General with their displeasure, by throwing his favourite plan of the College overboard. There is the best authority for the assertion, that but for the annoyance created in Leadenhall Street by Lord Wellesley's free-trade notions, his College would have been treated with greater gentleness. A despatch was immediately sent out to India, directing that all expenses connected with the institution should cease, and that Dr. Gilchrist's Oriental seminary should be revived.

This despatch reached Calcutta on the 15th of June, 1802, and produced a feeling of profound regret in the minds of those who appreciated the spirit of Lord Wellesley's annoyance. zeal and emulation which the College had in-

fused into the civil service. The prospect of losing the pecuniary and philological advantages connected with it created not less anxiety at Serampore. The idle and dissipated among the students received the intelligence with delight, and gave vent to their exultation in lampoons and parodies. The immediate consequence of the orders of the Court was to thin the attendance of the students at church. On the 5th of August Lord Wellesley submitted his reply to the supreme council. It is one of the most elaborate and finished of his invaluable state papers, and is distinguished equally by the force of its reasoning, the elegance of its style, and the elevation of its views. He felt that the most effectual mode of meeting the opposition of the Court to his favourite institution was, to show that its expenditure would not interfere with the annual provision of silk, indigo, and piece goods for the warehouses

in London. This balance-sheet argument might be considered beneath the dignity of so important a question, but he was addressing men in whose minds the feelings of the shop were as yet uppermost. The additional expenses of the College would not, in future, exceed 40,000*l.*, and he assured the Court that this sum had been provided for by the creation of new sources of revenue since his first communication. The reader of the present day will be amused to find that this new source of revenue was the establishment of a duty on the transit of merchandise from province to province within the British dominions. So imperfectly were the true principles of political economy understood in those days, that a tax on the springs of industry and commerce, belonging to the rudest state of society, and which is now universally repudiated, was sanctioned by the most enlightened of Governors-General, for the express benefit of one of the noblest of his institutions. Lord Wellesley also proposed to appropriate to the use of the College the legacy which General Martine, then recently deceased, had bequeathed for the education of destitute children in Calcutta. He asked the opinion of counsel learned in the law on this point, and they pronounced that such a diversion of the funds from their original destination would be legal and legitimate. He also proposed to request the Nabob of Oude to transfer to the College the sum bequeathed by the General for a similar institution at Lucknow, but it was not carried into effect; and these funds have been since employed in the establishment of two valuable institutions, the Martiniere at Calcutta and that at Lucknow.

Having disposed of the financial branch of the question, Lord Wellesley proceeded to advocate with irresistible force the necessity of providing men qualified for the public service, and pointed with exultation to the success which had already attended the establishment of the College. He affirmed that "the security on which the Company must rely for the prosperity

Lord Wellesley's
arguments in fa-
vour of it.

of the country, for the happiness of our native subjects, for the augmentation of our resources, and for the stability of our power, was the abundant supply of public officers properly qualified to discharge their arduous duties in the several stations of the administration." The auspicious results of the education given to the students in exciting a spirit of emulation, reclaiming the idle and vicious to industrious and meritorious pursuits, and raising the standard of public honour, were described in the most glowing language. But the orders of the Court were peremptory, that "all expenses hitherto incurred on account of the College should immediately cease." Lord Wellesley, therefore, "in reference to the peculiar character and spirit of the Court's commands on this unhappy occasion, as an act of necessary submission to the controlling authority of the Court, and as a testimony of the obedience due to the superior power placed by law in the government at home," passed an order in council, directing that all expenses incurred on account of the College should cease, and that the institution should be abolished. At the same time he passed a second order, directing that the abolition of the College should be gradual, and that the institution should not be finally closed before the month of December, 1803. This bold course was adopted, avowedly "in the hope that the Court would diligently weigh all the considerations he had placed before them, and revise the order for the abolition of the College." He wound up this celebrated Minute with the following lofty remarks: — "I should be guilty of disrespect as well as of injustice towards the East India Company, if I could suggest that the Court of Directors, with a full knowledge of the objects and principles of this institution, and with ample proofs of its actual success, could *now* adopt an opinion that the sum of money *now* requisite to defray its charges might be applied to any purposes more beneficial to the interests of the Company. I therefore close this letter with a perfect confidence that

Lord Wellesley
prolongs the Col-
lege.

the Honourable Court will issue without delay a positive command for the continuance of the College of Fort William until further orders."

While Lord Wellesley was addressing the Court of Directors in this strain of official calmness and respect, he was, however, writing to his private friends in England in terms of burning indignation. He regarded the College with much the same feelings of paternity with which Napoleon looked on the Code which he was, at the same period, engaged in compiling. Lord Wellesley considered this institution as the greatest achievement of his reign, and was far prouder of it than of all the military triumphs and conquests which had rendered his government illustrious. "The whole world," said he, "will contemplate this institution when a general peace permits them. The peculiar necessity of it as to our own country, its peculiar situation in this country, its useful light in the darkness of Asia, and its novel appearance to the learned world in Europe, will soon, very soon, confirm the wisdom of the institution." Apprehensive lest the Court should be disposed "to bury his letter in the abyss of Leadenhall Street," he sent copies of it to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. He likewise wrote to Lord Dartmouth: "So convinced am I of the necessity of this institution, that I am determined to devote the remainder of my political life to the object of establishing it, as the greatest benefit which can be imparted to the public service in India, and as the best security which can be provided for the welfare of our native subjects. . . . Without such a system of discipline and study in the early education of the civil service, it will be utterly impossible to maintain our extensive empire in India. The College must stand, or the empire must fall." But the College has fallen, and the empire stands. Of the noble institution which Lord Wellesley founded with such zeal and patriotism nothing remains but the shadow of a name, while the empire has expanded beyond all anticipation. Lord

Reflections on
these events.

Wellesley's views with regard to this particular institution may not, it is true, have stood the test of experience; but they were admirably suited to the exigencies of a period when the members of the civil service received no specific training or preparation for the important duties entrusted to them. The Court of Directors, too much fettered by the traditions of a commercial corporation, sent out nothing to India but the raw material—apprentices from the counting-house, or youths prematurely withdrawn from the public schools. Lord Wellesley considered it indispensable that suitable provision should be made for judiciously and skilfully working up this material into magistrates and collectors, judges and ambassadors. For the period at which the College was established, it was an institution of prime necessity, and afforded the clearest proof of the extent to which Lord Wellesley was in advance of the age. To him belongs the honour of having laid the foundation of that enlightened system of administration which, in spite of all detraction, has shed a lustre on the British name. He was the first to demonstrate the necessity of qualifying the servants of the State in India for their public duties by a sound and generous education. The Court of Directors are said to have thought of such a plan in 1797; but it slumbered in the drowsy atmosphere of Leadenhall Street, and was never brought to any practical issue till the establishment of the College of Fort William awoke the Directors to the recognition and the application of the principle.

On the 19th of July, the settlement of Serampore was restored to the Danish authorities, after it had been held by the British Government about fourteen months. Towards the end of the month, Morad, a Mahomedan, arrived at Serampore, deputed by his friends in Jessore to invite the missionaries to visit them. Mr. Marshman determined to undertake the journey in company with two of the converts. On reaching their destination, they were cordially welcomed by the inquirers;

Mr. Marshman's
visit to Jessore.

and a large body of Hindoos and Mahomedans was speedily collected together, who listened to the Gospel-message with much attention, and entered into long discussions with the two itinerants. The next morning, Mr. Marshman proceeded to Gobrapore, the residence of an opulent and bigoted community of brahmins, who manifested the strongest repugnance to the Gospel; and, as discussion only appeared to create irritation, Mr. Marshman hastened to retire, making them an offer of tracts, which, however, they tore up before his face. From thence he went to Garapata, where about two hundred men had separated equally from Hindooism and Mahomedanism, and now received the truths of the Bible with simplicity and meekness. "I never," he wrote to his brethren, "saw any Hindoos, except in the family of Krishnu, listen to the Gospel like these people. Their affectionate conduct to me I never saw exceeded, even by brethren in England. They offered me a kid, or a young pig, or any thing else I wanted. I only took a little milk." Three days were passed among these simple-hearted men, and Mr. Marshman then commenced his journey back to Serampore; but, on reaching the village of Chundooreah, he heard of a native, Seeb-ram-dass, who had rejected idolatry, established a new sect, and collected nearly twenty thousand followers. Mr. Marshman sent the gooroo a note in English and Bengalee, and then proceeded to his residence, which presented an appearance of ease and prosperity, though without the splendour of the Ghospara heresiarch. The old man, who was seated on a blanket under a tree, received Mr. Marshman with great courtesy, and ordered a mat to be spread for him. Many of his disciples were ranged round him, to whom Mr. Marshman preached the truths of Christian Revelation for two hours, so acceptably that he was requested to remain. The son of the gooroo then conducted him to a small outhouse, where he passed the night on a clean mat which was spread for him on the floor. The next morning, the old man invited him to

another conference in the garden, which had been swept for the occasion. A blanket was placed for the spiritual guide and an old chair for his European guest. An animated discussion was maintained for several hours, and at midday Mr. Marshman was invited to a repast of rice, fish, and plantains; but, as there was neither spoon nor fork, he was obliged to adopt the native fashion of using his fingers. He left several hundred tracts with the gooroo and his people, and, procuring a dooly, the humblest of native litters, and a set of bearers, returned to Serampore. No sooner, however, had he left that part of the country than the brahmins of Gobrapore tore the tracts he had left them, and hung up the pieces at the doors of those who had ventured to receive them, not without the addition of some scurrilous placards. About a month after, the inquirers from Luckphool, in Jessore, again came to Serampore, and requested the missionaries to repeat their visit. Mr. Ward and Mr. Carey's second son accordingly went into the district, and spent four days in preaching and in conversation with the people, and distributed numerous tracts. On their return to Serampore, they found three men who were the bearers of a letter from Seeb-ram-dass, propounding the difficulties he had met with in the Scriptur^e plan of salvation, and asking for explanations, which were cheerfully sent. This eagerness of inquiry induced the missionaries to place one of the converts at a station on the borders of the district of Jessore. The aged Petumber was accordingly sent to Sooksagur, but he experienced the most determined resistance from the brahmins of the place, who were resolved that he should not obtain a footing among them, and effectually prevented his obtaining ground for a house. A wealthy and liberal-minded Roman Catholic merchant of Calcutta, Mr. Joseph Baretto, who then occupied a magnificent house at Sooksagur, since washed away by the encroachments of the river, made over a piece

of ground to him, and promised him all the assistance in his power.

Another token was at this time exhibited of the absence of sectarian bigotry which characterised that early period of Indian society. Mr. Brown, the senior chaplain at the Presidency, called on Mr. Carey in his rooms at the College, and expressed a desire that facilities should be created for communicating religious instruction to the lower classes of Christians in Calcutta, and inquired why the missionaries could not be prevailed on to turn their attention to this subject. He replied that he and his brethren had long wished to establish some place of worship for the benefit of those who, though bearing the Christian name, were too low in the scale of society to intrude into the patrician congregations of the Mission Church and the Presidency Church, but were apprehensive of giving umbrage to Government. Mr. Brown assured him that these fears were groundless, and that Lord Wellesley had contemplated the transfer of the Presidency Church to Presbyterian ministers, whom he was anxious to introduce into Calcutta, and the erection of a larger and more splendid edifice for the Episcopalians. Mr. Buchanan likewise urged on the missionaries the establishment of a Dissenting chapel in Calcutta, assuring them that he and Mr. Brown would use every effort to prevent any opposition on the part of Government, which, however, was not to be apprehended. Towards the close of this year, 1802, the Serampore missionaries remark that they had now thirteen native communicants in the Church and eight inquirers. They had compiled a little volume of Hymns, which were sung, partly to native and partly to English tunes, and had printed twenty-two thousand tracts. Their mode of proclaiming the message of the Gospel is thus described in their quarterly letter to the Society: "When the sun is going down, one of us, taking some tracts in his hand, goes out into some part of Serampore, or its neighbourhood, talks to the people, and

First movement
for building a
chapel in Cal-
cutta.

distributes the papers; another does the same in another direction; while a third goes one evening to the Bengalee school-house or meeting, another evening to Krishnu's little meeting-house, which will hold about forty people. After this, our Hindoo friends, except the women (and they attend two or three times a week), came every evening to our house. In our family worship, the chapter in the Old Testament, after being read in English, is translated off-hand and read in Bengalee. On Tuesday and Thursday evenings, after family worship, we have a short meeting with them for prayer and conversation; and, on Friday evenings, an experience meeting. On the Lord's day, we have three public services in Bengalee; twice at the meeting-houses or huts, and once at our own house. When we go to a distance, we travel, eat, and sleep in a boat; and going from place to place, we preach and distribute books."

CHAP. IV.

AT the commencement of the year 1803, the missionaries baptised the first brahmin, an amiable and intelligent youth of the name of Krishnu-prisad. He came from Dehatta, the village in the Soonderbuns, where Mr. Carey has taken up his residence in 1794; and he likewise was attracted to Serampore by one of the tracts which Mr. Ward had distributed during his tour. Before his baptism, he trampled on his *poita*, or sacred thread, to indicate his rejection of the creed with which it was associated, and then placed it in Mr. Ward's hands, who records in his journal, "this is a more precious relic than any the Church of Rome could boast of." Mr. Ward gave him money to purchase another. Simple and unimportant as this act of Krishnu-prisad may appear, it was impossible for a brahmin more unequivocally to manifest his contempt of the creed of which he had been a minister. The *poita* is consecrated by holy texts before it is put on; the ceremony of investiture is considered equivalent to a second or spiritual birth; the young priest becomes one of the "twice born," and is immediately placed on an equality with the gods, and receives the servile homage of all other classes of Hindoos. For twenty centuries, it has been the great object of the Hindoo hierarchy to magnify the glory of brahminhood, of which the *poita* is the emblem. But Mr. Carey and his colleagues did not at that time consider it necessary to insist on a brahmin's divesting himself of his thread, which they considered as much a token of social distinction, as of spiritual supremacy. The converts were therefore baptized and preached to their fellow-countrymen with the *poita* across the shoulder. This practice gave

Baptism of the
first brahmin.

great umbrage to the Hindoo priesthood; and, on one occasion, the wealthy natives of Serampore lodged a complaint on this ground in the magistrate's court, and demanded that he should restrain those who had renounced Hindooism from appearing in the poita; but he rejected their petition. The missionaries, in their anxiety not to interfere unnecessarily with the national habits and customs of the converts, did not deem it necessary to make any rule on the subject. The brahmin convert continued to wear the thread for nearly three years after his baptism, and then he, and another convert of the same class, renounced it voluntarily. Mr. Ward remarks, on this event, "How much better is love and illumination than force! If we had compelled these brethren to leave off their poitas, perhaps they might have been attached to them while they lived." But regarding the distinctions of caste, the Serampore missionaries had determined, from the origin of the Mission, to admit of no compromise. They knew that the missionaries on the Coast had timidly and most injudiciously consented to the perpetuation of caste among their converts. This institution, which might be considered as the great bulwark of Hindooism, the converts had been permitted to take with them into the Christian church, and this idolatrous distinction had been allowed to intrude itself into the solemnities of the holy communion; the brahmin Christian received the elements before the soodra Christian, and the cup of blessing was thus converted into a chalice of abomination. On the baptism of the first brahmin, Mr. Carey and his colleagues were called to fix the rule of practice on this point at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and they resolved to exterminate every vestige of caste from the Christian community they were rearing up, and the brahmin received the bread and wine after the carpenter Krishnu.

On the 23rd of January, 1803, the missionaries commenced divine service in the English language, in a room they had taken in Calcutta at the exorbitant rent of

115*l*. a year, but with the exception of a few of their own Christian friends, there was scarcely any attendance. They

First preaching
in Calcutta.

subsequently engaged another room on more reasonable terms, where they continued to preach till the chapel in the Bow Bazar was opened in 1809.

The day after Mr. Carey had preached his first sermon in Calcutta, the missionaries were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Mr. John Chamberlain, who had been sent from

Arrival of Mr.
Chamberlain.

England to join the Mission. He had been received as a probationer for missionary work by the Society in September, 1798, at the age of twenty-one, at the same time with Mr. Brunsdon, and was placed under the tuition of the Rev. John Sutcliff, at Olney; from thence he was removed to the Academy at Bristol, and, after four years of study, was finally accepted as a missionary, and embarked for India in an American vessel. He was a man of robust form, great energy of character, not unaccompanied with waywardness, and capable of intense application and labour. At Bristol, he sometimes devoted nineteen hours consecutively to study; and, during his subsequent career in India, frequently engaged for five hours on a stretch in addressing and reasoning with the heathen. Mr. Ward went down to the vessel to welcome his new colleague, and they landed together at Calcutta, and proceeded to Mr. Carey's lodgings. "We have no longer," writes Mr. Ward in his journal, "any dread of Calcutta." Mr. Chamberlain's name was sent in to the police, but no attempt was made to interrupt him, and he was allowed at once to join the missionary establishment at Serampore: the Governor-General was Lord Wellesley.

At the beginning of 1803, the missionaries had made considerable progress in the preparation of a fount of

Punch-cutting
at Serampore.

Deva Nagree types. The Deva Nagree is the parent of all the various Indian alphabets, and, according to mythological tradition, the special gift of the gods. This was the first fount of this type which had been attempted in India. Soon after the establishment of the

press at Serampore, the native blacksmith Punchanon, who had been instructed in the art of punch-cutting by Sir Charles Wilkins, to whom allusion has been made in a former chapter, came to the missionaries in search of employment. Mr. Carey was then contemplating a Sanscrit Grammar, for which it was necessary to obtain Nagree types, and Punchanon was immediately engaged for the work. Owing to the large number of compound letters in the Deva Nagree, the fount required seven hundred separate punches, of which about one half had been completed at the beginning of the present year. To accelerate the progress of the work, Punchanon was advised to take as an assistant a youth of the same caste and craft, of the name of Monohor, an expert and elegant workman, who was subsequently employed for forty years at the Serampore press, and to whose exertions and instructions Bengal is indebted for the various beautiful founts of the Bengalee, Nagree, Persian, Arabic, and other characters which have been gradually introduced into the different printing establishments. While engaged in cutting the Nagree punches, Punchanon also completed a fount of Bengalee, smaller in size, and of more elegant form than that which had been used in the first edition of the Bengalee New Testament. That edition had now been distributed, and a second was called for.

In 1798, Mr. Carey had proposed to Mr. Fuller to print, in the first instance, an impression of 10,000 copies of the New Testament. He was a stranger to the difficulties of the undertaking, and placed undue confidence in the accuracy of his translation.

Improved edition
of the Bengalee
New Testament.

He was now, however, so fully convinced of the improvements of which successive editions must be susceptible, that he proposed to limit the edition to 1000 copies. It was not so much an improvement on the first version as a new translation. "The alterations," he writes to Mr. Fuller, "are great and numerous, not so much in what related to the meaning as to the construction. I hope it will be tolerably

correct, as every proof-sheet is revised by us all, and compared as exactly with the original as brother Marshman and I are capable of, and subject to the opinions and animadversions of several pundits." The construction of the sentences in the first edition, which the flattery of the pundits had pronounced to be perfect, was so entirely at variance with the idiom of the language that the work was barely intelligible. In many cases, it presented a simple translation of the English words arranged in the English order of collocation. But this translation was made in the jungles of Mudnabatty, where Mr. Carey possessed none of those advantages for the cultivation of the language which he enjoyed on his removal to Serampore, and more especially since his appointment to the College of Fort William. In that institution more than fifty of the most eminent scholars of the East were collected together, and it was in this association that he was enabled to discover the genius of Oriental philology and the true principles of translation. At the head of the establishment of pundits stood Mritunjoy, who, although a native of Orissa, usually regarded as the Bœotia of the country, was a colossus of literature. He bore a strong resemblance to our great lexicographer, not only by his stupendous acquirements and the soundness of his critical judgment, but also in his rough features and unwieldy figure. His knowledge of the Sanscrit classics was unrivalled, and his Bengalee composition has never been surpassed for ease, simplicity, and vigour. Mr. Carey sat under his instructions two or three hours daily when in Calcutta, and the effect of this intercourse was speedily visible in the superior accuracy and purity of his translations.

On the 3rd of April, the missionaries baptized Ramrutun, an amiable youth of the writer caste, of very respectable connections in Calcutta. The next day the first marriage was solemnised among their converts, between Krishnu-prisad, the brahmin, and the daughter of Krishnu, the first convert. The event was

First marriage
among the con-
verts.

more particularly interesting, as another step towards that entire obliteration of the caste distinctions which the missionaries were so anxious to effect. For the celebration of the wedding in the presence of the natives, mats had been spread and chairs placed under a tree in front of Krishnu's house. Mr. Carey sat at a little table, and, after a brief explanatory address, read some appropriate passages of Scripture, and then the short and simple marriage service which he had compiled in Bengalee. The bride and bridegroom then plighted their faith to each other, and signed the agreement, the first, Mr. Ward observes, to which a Hindoo female had probably put her name for many centuries. It was attested by all the missionaries as witnesses. The ceremony was conducted with great decorum, and produced a feeling of general satisfaction on the minds of those who were present. In the evening, the missionaries went to the wedding supper given by the father of the bride. On no previous occasion had they partaken of a meal at the house of a native convert. The dishes were prepared in the native style, and served up according to eastern custom. The repast began with the singing of Krishnu's hymn, which is still a favourite in missionary circles, and ended with prayer. "This," writes Mr. Ward, "was a glorious triumph over caste. A brahmin married to a soodra, and in a Christian form." But though this wedding excited the most pleasing sensations in the minds of the missionaries, it may be doubtful how far it was strictly valid in law, though its legitimacy would never have been questioned by Government. It was only in the year 1852, nearly half a century after the celebration of the first marriage of two Hindoo converts by a Dissenting missionary, that such marriages have been legalised by statute, and the offspring of the union protected from the odium of bastardy. When Christians talk of the strength of native prejudices, it would be well to remember how much easier it was found to break through the strongest prejudices in India, and marry a

brahmin to a soodra, than to overcome the Christian prejudices of sectarian caste, and place the pious Dissenting missionary on the same footing with his Episcopal fellow-labourer.

A week after the marriage, Mr. Ward records in his journal:—“A horrible day,—the Churuk poojah, and

The Churruk
and Sutees at
Serampore.

three women burnt with their husbands on one pile, near our house.” How gratifying to the Christian philanthropist is the contrast now presented to this picture! Female immolation has ceased to exist through the whole extent of the British dominions in India, and where, fifty years ago, fifteen, and often twenty men, and, in some instances, even women, frantic with superstition and drugs, were swinging by hooks in their backs, in the presence of the native gentry, annually congregated for the occasion, and amidst the shouts of an excited mob, scarcely an instance of these orgies is to be seen at the present day; and the improvement of public opinion in native society has anticipated the legal prohibition of these degrading scenes. While the impression created by the marriage of the first native Christian female, and the immolation of three Hindoo widows, was fresh in his memory, Mr. Ward wrote thus to Dr. Ryland:—“Be assured that whatever Europeans may say about the impossibility of converting the Hindoos, there wants nothing more, as it respects human means, but a few men of gifts and real powerful godliness. Hindoos and Mahomedans will as surely fall under the doctrine of the Cross as Greenlanders and Hottentots. The reason why this work has never been done yet is, because the means have never been suited to the end. It will be vain to expect that the Gospel will ever spread widely in this country, till God so blesses the means as that *native men* shall be raised up, who will carry the despised doctrine, brought into the country by the Mlechas, into the very teeth of the brahmins, and prove from the Scriptures that this is indeed the Christ that

Native preachers.

should come into the world. We hope we see the dawn of this. I have constantly made it a point of recommending the making of native preachers as soon as possible; and I hope we may soon see two or three, who are at least more able and eloquent than some good men who are employed in England." It was to this plan of training up Christian itinerants, retaining all the simplicity of their national habits, having ready access to the minds and hearts of their countrymen, and preaching in their own mother tongue, that the attention of the missionaries was henceforward directed. It was to this agency they looked for naturalising Christianity in India. It is lamentable to reflect that no systematic effort has been made by any missionary body to carry out these sound views during the subsequent half century of missionary labours, and that the attention of missionary societies has been too prominently directed to the multiplication of European labourers. It is scarcely possible to estimate the impression which might have been produced in the country, if it had been made the primary object of solicitude to strengthen every missionary circle in India with a large body of native itinerants, under European superintendence.

In the month of May, the missionaries received information from Jessore that Bharut-ghose, one of the inquirers, had been seized by a public officer, who insisted on his renouncing the Gospel, and paying a fine, or removing from his village.

Mr. Marshman's
second journey to
Jessore.

The missionaries had invariably avoided any appeal to the British authorities for the protection of their native converts. They felt that they and their enterprise existed in the country only by sufferance, and they were unwilling to attract observation to their efforts. On the present occasion, however, they injudiciously wrote to the judge of the district, soliciting him to investigate the matter. They received no reply; and, on farther reflection, came to the conclusion that they had no right to expect one.

Mr. Marshman, therefore, determined to proceed himself to Jessore to strengthen the minds of the inquirers. It was the hottest month of the year, yet nothing could shake his resolution when public duty seemed to call him to exertion. He went up to Sooksagur in a boat with a palankeen, intending to cross the country to the residence of Bharut, but no bearers could be procured; and, in defiance of the dictates of prudence, he proceeded on foot, walking the whole day through the blazing sun with the thermometer at 115°. He reached Sreenugur in the evening, and occupied a temple of Kalee for the night, stretching himself on the plank on which the image was usually paraded through the streets. He started again before dawn, and reached Luckphool about eight in the morning of Sunday, but was mortified to find the men who had given him and his colleagues such fair hopes of conversion labouring in their fields. He examined the complaint of Bharut, and advised him as to the course he should pursue; and, having endeavoured to encourage the inquirers, returned to Serampore, performing the journey again on foot, with the exception of eight miles. Nothing but his iron frame could have stood such exertion. At the end of April, in the present year, the Rev. David

Rev. D. Brown
removes to
Serampore.

Brown purchased a house, with extensive grounds, on the confines of Serampore, in which he continued to reside to the period of his death in 1812. He was a man of cultivated mind and exemplary piety; and though he did sometimes write of Mr. Carey that "he dips his brahmins in the river not far from my house," yet he manifested great liberality of spirit, and entered with cordiality into the views of the missionaries, sympathising in their alternate success and disappointment. A strong congeniality of taste between him and Mr. Marshman led to such close intimacy that the latter generally passed two evenings in the week at Aldeen House, as Mr. Brown's residence was called. Except on one lamentable occasion of difference, Mr. Brown was for nine years the judicious and affectionate

adviser of the missionaries in the successive difficulties to which they were exposed, and, when not himself engaged in pulpit services in Calcutta, attended their ministry with his family at the Mission Chapel at Serampore. In the course of this narrative we shall have frequent occasion to allude to the intimate intercourse which subsisted between them, notwithstanding the difference of their views regarding Church government and Christian baptism.

On the 3rd of October, the missionaries purchased a piece of ground for a cemetery in Serampore, and they had occasion to use it four days after. Gokool, who had been baptized some months before, died Burial of the first Christian. after a short illness, rejoicing in the hope of the Gospel; and his tranquil and happy exit is said to have produced a happy effect on the little band of converts. As this was the first death which had occurred among the native Christians, it became necessary to establish the form of Christian burial in that community. Mr. Ward was then on a journey to Dinagepore, and Mr. Carey was attending his College duties in Calcutta; it devolved, therefore, on Mr. Marshman to direct the arrangements, and he determined to create the example of a simple and inexpensive funeral. A coffin was put together on the Mission premises, and taken to the house of Krishnu, who covered it, at his own expense, with white muslin. At the interment of Christians in the town, it had been usual to employ six or eight of the lowest class of Portuguese, commonly called "pobrees," to convey the corpse to the grave. They were too frequently drunk and disorderly, and their irregular movements and mutual bickerings on the road deprived the event of all solemnity. "But," writes Mr. Marshman, "besides that our friends could not constantly sustain such an expense, I wished exceedingly to convince them of the propriety of doing that last kind office for a brother themselves." There was, however, no little hesitation on the part of the converts to appear in the public street, in the same character as the degraded pobrees. Among the Hindoos, brahmins carry the body of a brahmin to the

funeral pile, and each rank of soodras conveys that of its own caste; but a soodra may not touch the dead body of a brahmin, nor can a brahmin touch the corpse of a soodra, without incurring the necessity of purification. Hence it was considered one of the most remarkable triumphs over native prejudice when the brahmin students of the Medical College in Calcutta, about twenty years ago, consented, for the first time, to handle a dead body in the dissecting-room. The missionaries had set to themselves the task of breaking down these distinctions and prejudices of caste, both in life and death, and they were anxious to establish a conviction in the minds of the native Christians that they were all of one blood, whatever might have been their previous rank in the circle of idolatry. Mr. Marshman undertook this duty on this occasion with his usual resolution, and, to overrule all objections, determined to assist in carrying the coffin himself. At five in the afternoon, he repaired to the house of Krishnu, where all the converts of both sexes were assembled, together with a large body of the heathen. There, in the presence of a silent and astonished multitude, Mr. Marshman and Mr. Felix Carey, Bhyrub, a baptized brahmin, and Peeroo, a baptized Mahomedan, placed the coffin on their shoulders, and singing the Bengalee hymn, "Salvation through the death of Christ," carried it through the streets to the new burial-ground, which received its first tenant under these interesting circumstances. This procedure may be considered as having completed the abolition of caste among the native Christian community. It commenced with the extinction of all difference of caste in partaking of the Lord's Supper; it was farther advanced by the marriage of a brahmin to the daughter of a soodra; and was now consummated by the conveyance of the body of a soodra to the grave by one of pure brahminical blood.

Mr. Waf's strength having been impaired by his unremitted labours, he was advised to make a trip on the river, and he resolved to visit Mr. Fernandez at Dinage-

pore. On the occasion of his journey to that part of the country in 1799, he had been obliged to travel under the safeguard of a Danish passport, but the friendly feeling of Lord Wellesley to the Mission rendered such a precaution unnecessary, and he applied to the British Government for a passport, which was granted without hesitation. Mr. Ward preached and distributed tracts in the various villages which he visited on his route. "Every conversation," he remarks in his journal, "which I have with the natives, makes me perceive more and more at what an immense distance these multitudes are from embracing Christian truth. Their prejudices, habits, caste, aversion to English manners, and ignorance of the religion of nature and conscience, prove that God only can make them put on the profession of Christ in sincerity. Yet still the work seems nearer than ever. Who can despair? 'God's eternal thought moves on,' and miracles have been performed already." At length he reached Mudnabatty, where he had first met Mr. Carey four years before. "When I beheld," he writes, "the ragged skeleton of brother Fountain's bungalow, it preached a forcible sermon in connection with the dissolution of its owner. The remembrance of Thomas Powel, and the unprofitableness of this people, after seven years' culture, made it altogether a melancholy scene. Mr. Carey's house is fast going to decay, and the walls are chalked with the odious figures of Hindoo gods." Mr. Ward passed many pleasant days with Mr. Fernandez, and the native itinerants who accompanied him lost no opportunity of preaching the Gospel to their fellow-countrymen. In the course of a morning's ride he passed the grave of a former judge of the district; and it may serve to illustrate the loose morality which prevailed in European society at that early period to note, that, to gratify his native mistress, he directed that his body should be partly burnt, in accordance with native custom, and partly buried.

Mr. Ward's visit
to Dinagapore.

Mr. Ward returned to Serampore on the 16th of De-

ember, and Mr. Marshman soon after proceeded on a missionary tour to Jessore with Krishnu and several other native converts. They visited the different villages which had given a favourable reception to the Gospel; and the narrative of Mr.

Mr. Marshman's
missionary tour
to Jessore.

Marshman's journey is among the most interesting of the early records of the Mission. One little circumstance merits notice, as characteristic of his disposition and feelings. After crossing the Bhyrub, perceiving that Krishnu was exhausted with fatigue, he desired him to use the palankeen, but the bearers objected to carry one who had lost caste. Mr. Marshman repeated the order more peremptorily; it was at length reluctantly obeyed, and Mr. Marshman walked by the side of the palankeen, to the surprise of the natives. "I felt a thousand times greater pleasure," he writes in his journal, "while trudging along in the sun, than I should have done in riding, from the thought that these little circumstances did more than some of greater value towards convincing our friends of our entire union in heart with them, while they convinced the bearers, too, that there was more in the Christian religion than they had imagined." The day after this occurrence he reached the civil station of the district, and began to preach in the market-place, but the crowd soon became so dense that he was obliged to mount the roof of the palankeen. Holding out the New Testament in his hand, he preached to the multitude at the top of his voice. "Imagine to yourself," he writes, "more than a thousand people of different sentiments, hearing imperfectly something new; some reading the papers, others clamouring for them, others as loudly inquiring, 'what?' 'why?' 'wherefore?' and you will have some idea of the scene." Some of the influential brahmins of the town hastened to the judge, Mr. Middleton, and demanded his interference. He sent for Mr. Marshman to obtain more accurate information of the affair, and to satisfy the complainants. Mr. Marsh-

man found him surrounded by the enraged brahmins and the Amlas, or ministerial officers of the court, who have always been among the most violent opponents of Christianity. Mr. Middleton addressed Mr. Marshman in a tone of severity, and informed him that such addresses to the heathen could not be permitted. Mr. Marshman explained the nature of his errand to the district in connection with the Mission which had been established at Serampore, and offered to withdraw from the town if he had done anything to contravene the Company's regulations. After this explanation the judge softened his tone, and asked Mr. Marshman to dine with him in the evening, and endeavoured to pacify the angry brahmins, though with little success. Mr. Marshman then addressed one of the most forward among them in the mildest language; but he replied that it was a sin to listen to him, or even to look at him. The brahmin then left the court abruptly and returned to the mob, stating that the missionary was evidently a madman, and advising them to throw his palankeen into the river, and to chastise his native companions. Emboldened by the advice of so influential a man, the mob chased Koobeer, one of the itinerants, fell on Sheetaram, and pursued Krishnu with mud and cow-dung. Mr. Marshman came out and endeavoured to calm the tumult, but was obliged to retreat hastily to the court, where he collected the scattered itinerants, and placed them under the protection of the constituted authorities. In the evening, Mr. Middleton and Mr. Marshman sat down to dinner, and discussed the labours and prospects of the Mission, to which the judge drank success, and they parted on friendly terms. The crowd had dispersed as the night set in, and Mr. Marshman proceeded at the dawn of the next morning to several other villages, preaching and distributing tracts, and reached Serampore on the last day of the year.

The year 1804 commenced on a Sabbath, and the missionaries held a special service to commemorate their

union as a family. It was also resolved to hold a service on the anniversary of the formation of the church, in May, and the establishment of the Society in October; and these three periodical services were continued till the family circle was broken up by death. In the course of the week, Mr. Carey received the cheering intelligence that the Court of Directors had withdrawn their orders for the suppression of the College of Fort William. The postponement of the abolition till eighteen months after the receipt of the order, by Lord Wellesley, was considered by the Court of Directors as a new instance of insubordination; but his friend, Mr. Pitt, was again at the head of the ministry, and the antagonism of the Court was effectually overruled. The College was to continue until further orders; but the young men attached to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies were not to resort to it. Lord Wellesley had declared his determination to relinquish the government and return to England, if the decision of the Court had been adverse to the institution; and he was thus detained in the country to achieve fresh triumphs. The continuance of the College, as might have been expected, filled the missionaries at Serampore with gratitude, and enabled them to pursue their work with renewed confidence. On the 9th of January, Mr. Felix Carey, Mr. Chamberlain, and several native itinerants, were sent on a missionary tour to the great annual mela, or religious festival, at Gunga Saugor. They preached, and circulated tracts and Scriptures during the trip, and spent several days in addressing the pilgrims, computed at 100,000. The missionaries were delighted to witness the happy result of the measures which Government had adopted to prevent human sacrifices. For the first time since the establishment of the pilgrimage, which had existed for many centuries, not a single victim was sacrificed. A non-commissioned officer and fifty Hindoo sepoys were stationed along the banks of the river to prevent the perpetration of these

The College
continued.

inhuman rites. In a few years it became unnecessary to send any military force. When it was known throughout the country that the practice was opposed to the wishes of the sovereign, and that it had been prohibited by law, it ceased as a matter of course, without creating any feeling of irritation.

In the early portion of the year 1804, the European and Mahomedan community in Calcutta was thrown into a state of considerable excitement by a theme, which Dr. Gilchrist, the professor of Hindoo-^{Excitement created by the thesis at the College disputations.} stance, proposed to his class for discussion at the public disputation in the College of Fort William. Lord Wellesley had not thought fit to impose any rule regarding the topics introduced at these annual exhibitions, and they sometimes referred to social improvements which were opposed to native prejudices. In 1803, one of the subjects discussed in the presence of the Governor-General, and the most distinguished members of native society, related to the distinctions of caste, which were openly affirmed to retard social progress. Dr. Gilchrist had also on one occasion selected as a thesis the suicide of Hindoo widows, which was denounced in that assembly as "repugnant to the natural feelings of mankind, and inconsistent with moral duty." He was on terms of great intimacy with his College colleague, Mr. Carey, and had watched his labours in the translation of the Scriptures with much interest. He now proposed as a thesis that "the natives of India would embrace the Gospel as soon as they were able to compare the Christian precepts with those of their own books." The theme gave umbrage to the moonshees employed in the College, and through their agency created a great commotion in the Mahomedan community. The old Indians, who felt a morbid tenderness for all "native prejudices," and a strong aversion to the translation of the Scriptures and every missionary effort, professed to take alarm, and increased the excitement. A report was industriously circulated that, as soon

as the proceedings of the day were completed, the Musulmans were to be brought by force to Government House and made Christians. A strong memorial was drawn up for the Mahomedans by their European abettors, and numerous signed, remonstrating against this alleged infringement of the toleration conceded by the British Government. The contest agitated all ranks of society. Mr. Buchanan, writing to a friend, says, "A battle is now fighting with Musulman and Hindoo prejudices against the translation of the Scriptures. Their clamour has assailed Government. Lord Wellesley and Mr. Barlow are neuter; but the old civil servants fan the flame." When the memorial was presented to the Governor-General, he coolly replied, that he saw nothing of an objectionable tendency in the proposed thesis, but with a view to allay all apprehensions on the part of the natives, he directed that the subject of the disputation should be changed. Dr. Gilchrist was so seriously offended by the interference of Government, that he indignantly threw up his appointment, and returned to England. In the month of January, Mr. Carey and his colleagues ordained Mr. Fernandez to the work of the ministry, with the view of establishing a subordinate station and church at Dinagepore. He was eminently qualified for this work by his piety and zeal, and the singular amiability of his disposition, and not less by his thorough command of the vernacular tongue. He never received any support from missionary funds, but was always a liberal contributor to them, and he continued to occupy the station and to labour with great assiduity and success among the heathen to the period of his death in 1833. Soon after the ordination of Mr. Fernandez, two of the most eminent and zealous converts, Krishnu and old Petumber, were set apart to the ministry by the laying on of hands. "Now," observes Mr. Ward, with exultation, "we may reckon on two heathens being ministers of the Gospel."

It was at the commencement of this year, and three

months before the establishment of the Bible Society, that the Serampore missionaries laid before the Society in England the plan which they had been gradually maturing for the translation of the Scriptures, or portions of them, into the languages of the East. At the present day, when the greatest facilities exist for this work by the increase of labourers admirably qualified for it, and by the encouragement of the Christian public, it is interesting to look back on the original labours of the Serampore missionaries in this department; conducted under every disadvantage, and with no support but that which was derived from the energy of their own spirit. It appears like the romance of enthusiasm, that three men in their position should originate, and, to so great an extent, carry out the idea of giving the sacred Scriptures to the natives of India in their own languages, at a time when the Christian world was utterly indifferent to the work. In acquainting the Society with this plan of translations, which eventually drew forth the applause of their fellow-Christians on both sides the Atlantic, there was no ambitious attempt to dazzle their minds by the grandeur of the undertaking; the proposal was the result of a strong conviction of duty, and it was introduced to notice in a spirit of unfeigned simplicity. They stated that there were at least seven languages spoken in India, the Bengalee, the Hindoostanee, the Oriya, the Mahratta, the Telinga, the Kurnata, and the Tamul;—at that period the philological statistics of our Indian empire were but imperfectly known. The missionaries had frequently discussed among themselves the possibility of effecting a translation of the Bible, or at least some portion of it, into some, if not all, these languages; and they were now led to consider it practicable from the following considerations. They had acquired the mental habits necessary for such a work in the prosecution of their translations at Serampore; they were in a position, by Mr. Carey's connection with the College, to obtain the

Plans of translations at Serampore.

assistance of learned men from all these countries ; they had collected the best library of critical works to be found in India ; they had a large printing establishment and an efficient letter-foundry capable of any expansion ; and their situation gave them facilities for distributing the translations, if they should live to see the work, or any portion of it, completed. Their own pecuniary resources, they said, were unequal to the undertaking, and they required some assistance from home. They had already entered upon the task before they ventured to introduce the plan to their brethren in England. At the beginning of 1803 they began a translation of the New Testament in Hindee. In October, of that year, the province of Orissa was conquered and annexed to the British dominions, and they immediately engaged the services of an Ooriya pundit, and commenced a translation in that language. Lord Wellesley had determined to introduce the study of Mahratta into the College, for the benefit of the students from the Bombay Presidency ; that language was therefore added to their list of translations, and Mr. Carey began the compilation of a Mahratta Grammar. Hitherto, they had proceeded in their enlarged plan of translations at their own expense—the supplies they received from England for translations being intended for the Bengalee version alone,—but they now found it impossible to prosecute the work any farther without extraneous aid. They therefore solicited the support of the Society to the extent of 1000*l.* a-year. A few months before this joint letter was despatched to England, Mr. Carey had made some allusion to the plan in a private communication, and Mr. Fuller's mind was at once kindled by the idea, and at his instance the Committee passed the following resolution on the 23rd of May, 1804 : —“ If our brethren should be able fully or in part to execute the plan which they have conceived of translating the Scriptures into the Eastern languages, we will most cordially co-operate with them, and we are persuaded the Christian public will not suffer the work to

stop for want of pecuniary support." Such was the origin of the plan of translations at Serampore. About this time Col. Colebrooke completed a translation of the Gospels in Persian, and Mr. Hunter in Hindoostanee; and Mr. Carey, in reference to these labours, remarks, "I am very glad that Col. Colebrooke has done it. We will gladly do what others do not, and speed those who do anything."

Simultaneously with this plan of translations, Mr. Carey and his two associates formed the design of establishing subordinate missionary stations in Bengal.

The plan which they submitted to the Society exhibits the large and comprehensive views they had formed, and the extreme caution with which they husbanded their limited resources. It was drawn up by Mr. Marshman and sent to Mr. Fuller in April, 1804, and the following extract from the letter will serve to illustrate his peculiar cast of mind, as well as the general style of his composition. He says, "We have been projecting a scheme for the enlargement of the Mission, of which I will briefly give you the outlines. It is that of placing as many brethren as the Lord gives us in different stations round the country, with a small capital, about two or three hundred pounds, to trade in cloth, indigo, or whatever each station best affords, to receive money and send the goods with monthly accounts to us, to keep one common stock and one table still, to have exactly the same allowance, and to meet once a year at Serampore. Our reasons are these:—It will, by and by, be almost impossible, as well as improper, for every Hindoo who receives the Gospel to reside at Serampore, or even to come there; and though much may be hoped for from native brethren, yet a European brother to oversee and gently conduct their affairs, infuse life into their efforts, and itinerate himself, may be necessary for some time to come. But to maintain a residence anywhere he must have an employment—not to say that the probable profits of almost half his time, employed in this small

Plan of subordinate missionary stations.

capital, may not be unnecessary towards supporting himself, his family, and his station. . . . Besides an employment furnishes work, and, of course, protection to the rejected Hindoo converts. The advantages we would hope from this plan are, the more effectual as well as wider dissemination of the Gospel throughout the country—the training up of a number of native brethren as itinerant missionaries; . . . finally, the consolidating into one fund the profits of labour, experience, vivacity, steadiness, courage, and wisdom, with a proper distribution of them to their respective places—that is, steadiness and wisdom to the council, and activity and courage to the busy scenes. The printing, the translating, the school, and the management of business will ever employ a sufficient number of brethren at Serampore to act as a committee during the year, and an annual meeting would give union, direction, and vigour to all affairs; . . . while a union of soul, and a perpetual communication of intelligence, hopes, fears, conflicts, oppositions, mercies, and prospects, would, like the circulation of the blood, spread life and impulse through every part of the body. Perhaps my dear brother may be ready to think that I have forgotten myself, and am talking in a utopian strain. There are dangers, difficulties, and obstacles, not a few, in the way. True; but as that plan is not likely to succeed where danger is wholly overlooked, so that will never be entered on when difficulties are considered insurmountable.” It should be borne in mind that the idea of adopting secular avocations at these out stations, arose not only from a desire to lighten the charge of them on Mission funds, but also to avoid the risk of being reported to Government as missionaries. In furtherance of this plan, they resolved to form a station at Cutwa, and Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to occupy it in the course of the year.

The anxiety of Lord Wellesley to encourage every effort to unfold the ancient literature of the country, led the missionaries to publish about this time Mr. Colebrooke's

English translation of the Umur Kosha, the most popular dictionary of the Sanscrit language. Government subscribed for 100 copies, at 4*l.* 16*s.* the copy.

Mr. Carey also prosecuted with great assiduity the laborious task of compiling a Grammar of that language, which he originally hoped to comprise within 400 pages, but which eventually swelled to the bulk of 1000 quarto pages. To this work, also, Government afforded him a liberal subscription of 640*l.* for 100 copies, which was generously paid in advance. He was also requested by the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, founded in 1784 by that illustrious scholar, Sir William Jones, to undertake a translation of the Vedas into English. He had always been of opinion that an acquaintance with these ancient and venerated works was necessary to a full and accurate comprehension of the Hindoo system of religion and philosophy. But the day for this undertaking had not arrived. Mr. Carey, after commencing the translation, found it interfere materially with the translations of the Bible, to which he had consecrated his life, and the undertaking was therefore relinquished. At the close of the year, the first Sanscrit work ever printed in the original was issued from the Mission press at Serampore — the Heetopadesh; of which two translations in English had previously appeared.

At the annual disputations of the College on the 4th of September, 1804, Mr. Carey was moderator both in the Bengalee and Sanscrit languages. Lord Wellesley had always appreciated the importance of cultivating the Sanscrit, “the source and root,” as he stated, “of the principal vernacular dialects throughout India.” He was anxious to encourage the study of it in his favourite institution. Mr. Gowan, a student in the College, had applied to this classical language under Mr. Carey’s tuition, with great success, and was required on this occasion to pronounce a declamation in it, and Mr. Carey was requested at the same time to

*Literary labours
of Mr. Carey.*

*Mr. Carey’s
address to Lord
Wellesley at
the College
commemoration.*

deliver an address to the Governor-General in that language. These annual exhibitions were got up in that spirit of magnificence which characterised all Lord Wellesley's proceedings. They were held in the splendid edifice which he had erected in Calcutta for the residence of the viceroy of India, at a cost not exceeding 140,000*L*, which, however, startled and annoyed his "honourable masters" in Leadenhall Street. The Governor-General took his seat on the dais at the upper end of the noble throne-room, and the principal officers of government, the judges of the supreme court, and the most distinguished members of European society, were seated around him. The assembly was graced by the beauty and fashion of Calcutta. The most eminent men in the native community; the learned brahmins, from all parts of the empire, in their simple attire; the opulent rajahs and baboos, and the representatives of the native princes of India, in their "plumed and jewelled turbans," were assembled to do honour to the majesty of British power. In this brilliant assemblage three of the most proficient students of the year in each language appeared as disputants, and the professor stood at their side as moderator. The scene was the most splendid which the metropolis presented throughout the year, and the day was one of high and honourable excitement to the members of the civil service. On the present occasion, Mr. Carey drew up a simple and appropriate address to Lord Wellesley, complimenting him on the success of his administration, and the benefits derived from the institution he had founded. He sent it to Mr. Buchanan, who elaborated and gilded it, and then submitted it for Lord Wellesley's approval. In the official report of the address, Mr. Carey is stated to have said,— "I now, an old man, have lived for a long series of years among the Hindoos. I have been in the habit of preaching to multitudes daily, of discoursing with the brahmins upon every subject, and superintending schools for the instruction of Hindoo youth. Their language is nearly as

familiar to me as my own. This close intercourse with the natives for so long a period, and in different parts of our empire, has afforded me opportunities of information not inferior to those which have hitherto been presented to any other person. I may say, indeed, that their manners, customs, habits, and sentiments, are as obvious to me as if I was myself a native. And, knowing them as I do, and hearing as I do their daily observations on our government, character, and principles, I am warranted to say (and I deem it my duty to embrace the public opportunity now offered me of saying) that the institution of this College was wanting to complete the happiness of the natives under our dominion; for this institution will break down that barrier (our ignorance of their language) which has ever opposed the influence of our laws and principles, and has despoiled our administration of its energy and effect."

The substance of this address was delivered in the Sanscrit language. Yet it is a fact that at this time Mr. Carey was only forty-three years of age, although from his bald head, and a sprinkling of grey hairs on either side, he presented the appearance of more advanced age. In writing to Mr. Fuller on the subject of this address, he remarked, "Mr. Buchanan, to whom I gave the speech, added much to it (the whole of the flattery is his), and sent it to Lord Wellesley for his inspection, without saying anything to me till it was returned with a letter of the highest approbation from his lordship, written with his own hand. Mr. Buchanan's object was to bring our Mission forward on this occasion, and he was very anxious about the event till his lordship's letter arrived." It was a hazardous experiment at that period of timidity to propose to the Governor-General that a missionary should stand up in that august assembly, before all the officers of state and the most eminent natives, and openly avow that he had been for many years employed in preaching Christianity. Both Mr. Brown and

Address to Lord
Wellesley.

Mr. Buchanan fully expected that the draft of the address would be returned with a request that all reference to Mr. Carey's missionary vocation should be omitted, and they were agreeably surprised when it was sent back unaltered with the following note:—"I am much pleased with Mr. Carey's truly original and excellent speech. I would not wish to have a word altered. I esteem such a testimony from such a man a greater honour than the applauses of Courts and Parliaments.—WELLESLEY." It has been stated, in a previous chapter, that on Lord Wellesley's appointment to the government of India in 1798, Mr. Fuller advised Mr. Carey to wait on him, and frankly avow his mission. Mr. Carey replied that he was prohibited from settling in India by Act of Parliament, and that nothing short of the same authority could reverse the law; but though he could not venture to return himself as a missionary in the annual reports, he would not hesitate to declare himself a missionary if he were in the presence of Lord Wellesley. He was now thrown into that position, and he fulfilled his promise to the letter, and boldly avowed before the Governor-General that his life had been devoted to missionary labours; and the assertion had even received his distinct approval. But among the official dignitaries who surrounded Lord Wellesley's seat at that College disputation, and listened to this open avowal of Mr. Carey's missionary calling, there were not a few who regarded it with feelings of deep resentment, and only waited for an opportunity of practically exemplifying their hostility to the cause.

The effort which was thus made by Mr. Buchanan to bring forward the Serampore mission, and obtain for it the indirect sanction of a liberal Governor-General was by no means a solitary instance of his zeal for the diffusion of knowledge, secular and divine. With much that was ostentatious and diplomatic in the constitution of his mind, he was still imbued with the feeling of genuine and enlarged Christian

Mr. Buchanan's
support of mis-
sionary labours.

philanthropy, and he was anxious to employ the influence of his position, as Vice-Provost of the College, in promoting great objects. He felt that one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Indian improvement was the ignorance which prevailed in England regarding its condition and its wants, and the indifference with which any proposal on the subject of its intellectual and moral progress was treated. He was desirous of rousing the public mind in England to the importance of the subject, and to effect this object he made an offer of prizes for essays on Indian civilisation, to the extent of 650*l.*, from his own resources, which were never abundant. He proposed as the subject of a prize essay to the two English and the four Scottish universities, and to the university of Dublin, "The best means of extending the blessings of civilisation and true religion among the sixty million inhabitants of Hindoostan subject to British authority." He likewise offered prizes for the best English poem on "The Revival of Letters in the East;" for the best Latin ode or poem on "Collegium Bengalense;" and also for the best Greek ode on "Let there be light." The prizes for the odes were offered to Eton, Westminster, Winchester, and the Charter House. The essays which resulted from this offer were delivered in at the close of the year, and though, as might have been expected, not of much practical value, served to draw public attention to the subject, and more particularly to bring it under the consideration of the students of the universities, who were then preparing to take a share in public affairs. The most important production elicited by the prizes was an admirable English poem on "The Restoration of Learning in the East," by Mr. Charles Grant, whose sympathies for the improvement of India were derived from his illustrious father, and who subsequently rose to be President of the Board of Control, where he was enabled to promote the cause of Indian improvement which he had so ably advocated in his youth.

In the last quarter of this year, the missionaries, in their

letter to the Society, reviewed the circumstances in which they stood. They state, "We want no one earthly comfort: in this respect we have all things, and abound. We are still a happy, healthful, and highly-favoured family. But though we would feel incessant gratitude for these gourds, yet we would not feel content unless 'Nineveh be brought to repentance.' We did not come to this country to be placed in what are called *easy* circumstances respecting this world; and we trust that nothing but the salvation of souls will satisfy us. True, before we set off we thought we could die content if we should be permitted to see the half of what we have already seen; yet now we seem almost as far from the mark of our missionary high calling as ever. . . . The expenses attending the purchase and erection of large premises at Serampore, and beginning business at Cutwa, the translating and printing expenses, also, of these large heavy works, and of free schools, added to the maintenance of so large a family,—all this God has provided for, with a comparatively small proportion of help from England. Our whole expenditure has not been less than 13,000*l.*, and we have had from England in money, goods, &c., not more than 5740*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* during the five years we have been at Serampore; and this sum is not sunk, but invested in premises belonging to the Mission. . . . No private fortune, no annual contributions which you could have been expected to raise, could have borne the weight of expense which God has brought us through."

Review of the Mission at the end of four years.

Towards the close of this year, great commotion was excited throughout the Civil Service in Bengal, by an event which is introduced to the notice of the reader because it furnishes an index of the moral characteristics of the age, and indirectly justifies the establishment of the College of Fort William.

The moral state of society as exhibited in the Civil Fund question.

The members of the service became anxious to establish a fund for the support of their widows and orphans, and the plan of a Civil Fund was drawn up and circulated among

them. The old gentlemen of the service, who had grown grey in Indian associations, were desirous to extend the benefit of it to their dark illegitimate children. But the younger civilians connected with the College, in number between fifty and sixty, whom it had been the aim of Lord Wellesley to train up in the principles of virtue and religion, united with one voice in deprecating a proposal which, as they justly observed, involved "the total violation of one of the great ordinances of the Divine law, and the direct overthrow of all the principles and distinctions which have been established and maintained by the authority of the world." They were encouraged by the friends of religion and morality in Calcutta, and backed by the Governor-General; and it was remarked as a singular feature of the contest, that "the young men appeared to be on the side where it might be expected the old men would be found." But the reason was clearly explained in one of the numerous papers which the discussion produced. Mr. Tucker, then Accountant-General, and afterwards a distinguished member of the East India Direction, said, "Some of us assuredly remain in this country too long for the public good, or our own happiness. We delay the hour of departure until we lose our English ideas, and our English affections; until, in fact, we forget the distinction between a concubine and a wife. . . . I contend that the rising generation should be prevented, if possible, from immuring themselves in loathsome zenanas, where they must pass a miserable existence, tormented with the importunate claims of a wretched family, regardless of reputation, lost to their country, their family, and their friends." An ode was composed by some of the old veterans in vice, addressed to the "virtuous youths," in which they were desired to "descend from their stilts," and do like other people. The young men, on their side, got up caricatures, one of which represented the leader of the old men with a black child in his arms, pleading its cause in full assembly, and a black woman behind, urging

him forward. The controversy was carried on by printed correspondence, on the part of the youths, chiefly by Mr., afterwards Lord Metcalfe, and Mr. John Adam, both of whom subsequently rose to the office of Governor-General *ad interim*. Their last paper concluded with these memorable expressions:—"The Civil Fund, if loaded by the proposed extension of its objects to illegitimate children, will tend to the destruction of public principles, to the overthrow of sacred and established institutions, to the encouragement of prostitution and vice, to the disgrace of the character of this settlement, and to the injury of the interests of our country." After the discussion had been carried on for some time, the two parties formally divided. The Civil Service at that time consisted of 350 members, one half of whom voted for the admission of the bastards, the other half against it. The question was then submitted to the arbitration of Lord Wellesley, who did not hesitate for a moment to limit the benefit of the fund to children born in wedlock, leaving upon the 175 civilians the task of providing, from their own funds, for the offspring of the loathsome zenanas. Not disheartened by this decision, they appealed to the Court of Directors, affirming that their masters would never vote with the College, because they would see how "unfriendly it was to ancient institutions." But the Court not only sanctioned the clause which excluded illegitimate children, but endowed the Fund with an annual subscription of 2500*l*.

On the 1st of January, 1805, arrangements were made by the Serampore missionaries for the erection of a chapel in Calcutta for the benefit of the poorer classes of the Christian community. A reference to the religious edifices in the metropolis of British power, may not here be altogether without interest. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, soon after the establishment of the factory at Calcutta, one of the first objects of solicitude to its mercantile community was the erection of a place for Christian worship. A church was

Bow Bazar Chapel. Reference to former churches in Calcutta.

accordingly erected from the munificent donations of the merchants; and the Court of Directors contributed 1000*l.*, a large sum for a period when the aggregate of their traffic with Calcutta did not exceed 2000 tons a year. The church was consecrated in 1709, by the chaplain; under a commission from the Bishop of London. It is described as a splendid edifice, and the steeple was the great ornament of the settlement. It was thrown down in the earthquake of 1737, the most memorable event in the history of Calcutta, before the sack of the town by Surrajadowlah; and it was not till thirteen years after, that the Company ordered it to be rebuilt at their expense. At the same time they enriched it with a large Bible and Prayer-book. Both steeple and church were demolished by the cannon of Surrajadowlah in 1756. In the inventory of the property of the Company drawn up in the previous year, the value of the church was estimated at 5000*l.*, and this sum was made good in 1757 by the Nabob whom Clive placed on the throne of Moorshedabad. But the return of prosperity and the influx of wealth brought no revival of Christian feelings. The money was received into the treasury, and the church was forgotten. In 1764 the Court of Directors desired that the building of the church should be postponed till the accommodation for their servants, the barracks for the soldiers, and every other building of consequence was completed. In 1768, they say, "As we take it for granted, that the new fort is by this time perfectly in a state of defence, we recommend it to you to begin the church, which should be spacious, and simplicity should be preferred to rich and expensive ornaments." The subject was again forgotten for eight years; and it was not till 1776 that the Directors brought it forward again, and stated in their despatch that they were willing "to promote so useful and pious a work, especially as it may be in some measure derogatory to the dignity of the Company, that our servants should be without a decent place of worship. We therefore direct that an estimate of the ex-

pense attending such a building, together with the plan of it, be sent us." Nothing serves more strongly to mark the character of that period than the fact, that for twenty-six years after the battle of Plassey, the British community in Calcutta, while amassing the most ambitious fortunes, made no effort to build up the house of God, which had been razed by the Mahomedans ; but the Governor and Governor-General, the members of council, the royal judges, the barristers, and the merchants of renown, were content, when they did meet for divine worship, to congregate in a room adjoining the Black Hole.

The orders of the Court of 1776, however, lay dormant for more than six years. The local government was in no hurry for the church, and it was only in 1783 that Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, and his council, attended the first meeting of the new church committee. Raja Nuku-kissen, who began life as a clerk in Clive's office, and rose with the tide of our fortunes to great wealth and influence in Calcutta, gave the ground, which was even then valued at 3000*l*. The sum of 2400*l*. was raised by a lottery ; and the Court of Directors, with the sum of 5000*l*. unappropriated in their treasury, which had been paid for the old church more than a quarter of a century before, contributed 1200*l*. out of a revenue of four millions, with the injunction that this sum should be considered as "a provision for the communion plate, an organ, a clock, bells, and velvet for the pulpit, the desk, and the communion table." Zoffany, the eminent painter, who had then been three years in Calcutta, presented the church with one of the noblest productions of his pencil, the Last Supper, which still adorns the chancel. The picture was rendered the more interesting from the fact, that the head of each apostle was the portrait of some one then living in the town ; Tulloh, the auctioneer, sitting for Judas, while he was allowed to believe that he represented the apostle John. Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, has left the following record of his observations at

the time. "Our church has lately been built. It was begun at first by subscription — a Pagan gave the ground — all parties subscribed — lotteries, confiscations, donations received contrary to law have been employed in completing it. The Company have contributed but little, no great proof that they consider the morals of their subjects connected with their religion." The church, which was called St. John's, was finished in 1786, and immediately became the state church, with official chairs for the Governor-General and his suite, and velveted seats for the judges and the members of council.

The Mission Church, built by Mr. Kiernander for his Portuguese and East India congregations, had, as we have stated, passed into the hands of Mr. Grant and his friends in the same year in which St. John's

The Mission
Church.

was opened. It was subsequently enlarged to treble its original size, and handsomely fitted up; and under Mr. Brown's ministry began to be attended "by members of the different Boards, and several others of the first rank in society," and was no longer stigmatised as a place befitting only "stable boys and paupers." After Kiernander's departure, a service was for a time conducted, once a day, for the Portuguese; but it was quietly discontinued, and that congregation gradually melted away before the influx of the gentry of the highest and of the middling classes.

In the patrician associations of these two churches there was no place for the humbler class of the Christian community in Calcutta, and they went nowhere on the Sundays but to the liquor shops.

The Bow Bazar
Chapel.

It was for their benefit that the Serampore missionaries had opened a room for divine service, defraying the whole of the expense themselves. But their success was very partial, many objecting to enter the dwelling of a private individual for public worship. The room, moreover, was ill chosen. It was a large hall in the house of Mr. Lindeman, the undertaker; and there was a natural repugnance in the minds of many to wade, Sunday after Sunday, through a range of

coffins, and other such emblems of mortality. The missionaries were soon made aware of the fact, that the erection of a public edifice was necessary to meet the wants and the prejudices of the lower classes, and to secure a larger attendance. The undertaking was frequently discussed with Mr. Brown at Aldeen, who encouraged the views of the missionaries with cordiality, and subscribed 500 rupees towards the chapel. Mr. Ward drew up the prospectus of the building, and on the first day of the year attended a meeting of the friends of the cause in Calcutta, when it was discussed and adopted, and the sum of 380*l.* subscribed on the spot. The missionaries added 100*l.* from their own funds, and in the course of the year the contributions reached 700*l.* The object of the missionaries was not to establish a chapel to propagate the peculiar sentiments of their own denomination, but to bring the forlorn beings in Calcutta, who bore the Christian name, and disgraced it by their ignorance and vice, under the influence of religious instruction. They announced, therefore, that the chapel was intended for the worship of all denominations. The expense of completing the building eventually fell on the missionaries themselves, who were obliged to advance more than half the builder's bill from their own resources, and it thus came under their paramount control, as we shall have occasion hereafter to explain. This circumstance gave rise, in the course of time, when the difficulties connected with the first movement were forgotten, to the most acrimonious discussions, and contributed for many years to embitter their lives.

It has been stated in a previous chapter, that on the establishment of the Mission at Serampore in 1800, the missionaries determined to engage in business for their own support, and to throw their profits into a common stock, but without reserving anything for themselves. Down to that period, all missionaries in India had always united secular occupations

Early principle
of missionary
economy adopted
at Serampore.

with missionary labour. None of them seem at any time to have depended for support on the scanty assistance received from Europe. It does not appear that the Christian Knowledge Society, with whom alone the missionaries in India had been connected, ever regarded themselves responsible for their entire support, or considered them as violating any missionary principle by eking out a livelihood by their own exertions. Some of the missionaries, while borne on the books of the Society in London, were enabled to accumulate a little independence, which they disposed of at their own discretion, and over which that Society never dreamt of assuming any control. Schwartz bequeathed his money as he willed, and his colleague, Gerické, at his death, left 5000*l*. When the Rév. Tobias Ringletaube was coming out to India, the year before the arrival of Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward, a very strenuous effort was made to induce the Christian Knowledge Society to increase his allowance from 100*l*. to 150*l*. a year, but the increase was granted only for one year, and the promoter of the proposal observed, that if he was able to obtain funds from his own labour on his arrival in India, the additional grant of 50*l*. would cease. In a valedictory letter to him, Mr. Charles Grant stated that he would probably be enabled to make up the deficiency of his allowance from home by taking pupils, as Kiernander had done before him. The Serampore missionaries, therefore, when they resolved to support themselves while labouring to spread the Gospel, simply adopted the principle on which Missions had been conducted before the modern missionary system was organised on its present footing, and the relation between the missionary and the Society assumed its present more secular type. The only difference in their case was the adoption of the novel principle of divesting themselves of all right of property in their own earnings, and consecrating it exclusively to the cause in which they had embarked, by the formation of a common stock.

Mr. Fuller, however, considered that they had carried the principle of self-denial too far, and proposed to the committee that the missionaries should be advised to suspend the rule they had adopted of devoting the whole of their income to the cause of Missions, and appropriate it for one year, as a provision for their families. Incredible, as it may seem, the committee demurred at the proposal, although they had not, either by express stipulation, or by the analogy of missionary arrangements, the slightest control in the matter; but Mr. Fuller was unwilling to abandon a proposition which he considered so just and equitable, and desired the missionaries freely to communicate their own wishes on the subject. To this proposal Mr. Marshman replied: "I cannot but feel your kindness in the most sensible manner. I am glad, however, you did not resolve on what you intended. So far from having any wish of the kind, I myself—and I am sure I can answer for Mrs. Marshman and my dear brethren—esteem it as one of the greatest favours conferred on me that I am permitted, by the labour of my hands, to contribute in any small degree to the support of His cause, to whom I owe 'my life, my soul, my all.'" Mr. Ward replied to Mr. Fuller in much the same strain: "I can, in some measure, perceive the feeling which gave rise to this proposal, and it is honourable to you; but I cannot say I approve of it. With respect to myself, I have no idea—because I have not thought of it—what pecuniary profit is derived to the Mission from my labours, but I will speak of my brethren. After they have ventured their lives and their families in the Mission, can it be supposed that they now count the *cowries* they contribute to it? Is it unreasonable that we should subsist by our own labour, and after that contribute a mite to the cause of God?" After the receipt of these replies, Mr. Fuller did not renew his proposals to the committee. But while the three men of Serampore exhibited such disinterestedness, and doubled the subscrip-

Mr. Fuller's objections to it.

tions of the whole denomination at home, no reciprocal feeling of generosity was manifested in England. Mrs. Ward happened, in one of her letters to a friend in the country, to mention the price she was obliged to pay for a bonnet, which, like all other articles from England, had risen during the war. The value of the bonnet had come out of the 40s. a month which she and her husband received to cover all their personal expenses. The subject was brought forward at a meeting of the committee, and the price was said to be "enormous." The remarks which were made on the occasion were so indelicate, that Mr. Fuller felt it necessary—though not without many apologies—to suggest that Mrs. Ward should in future be more cautious in her communications to England. It is difficult to allude, without indignation, to the feelings thus exhibited by the subscribers of a few shillings at home towards the men who were pouring into the lap of the Society their own contributions by thousands of pounds, and sacrificing their health, their strength, and every prospect in life, and the comfort and independence of their families, to the promotion of the cause. To such impertinence, however, missionaries have been too often exposed from the commencement of modern Missions. Those who give least are always the most disposed to be meddling and censorious. The man who puts his name down for some ten and sixpence annually considers himself entitled to a full guinea's worth of reflections on the expenditure of the missionaries, and of their wives and children. How different were the sentiments of Mr. Ward on hearing, as he did about this time, that Mr. Gerické had bequeathed 50,000rs. of his own property to the support of the Mission. Instead of censuring him for the possession of so much wealth, and dwelling on the injury it must inflict on the cause of missions in Europe, he records in his journal, "How blessed is the memory of the just."

At the commencement of this year, the Mission was

strengthened by the arrival of four missionaries from England,—the Rev. William Moore, Joshua Rowe, John Biss, and John Mardon. As the East India

Arrival of four missionaries.

Company still continued hostile to the missionary enterprise, and permission could not be obtained to embark in their vessels, the missionaries were obliged to proceed to America, and await the opportunity of a vessel to India. No vessel had been laid on for Calcutta, and they therefore embarked for Madras where they took shipping for Calcutta in two parties. While Mr. Biss and Mr. Mardon were detained at Madras, some of the European residents requested them to remain and establish a Mission in that town, and raised a subscription of more than 100*l*. A memorial, signed by ninety-three, was sent to Serampore on the subject. While the missionaries awaited a reply, they called on Dr. Kerr, the senior chaplain, and a man of great liberality of feeling, and an enthusiast for missionary undertakings, and requested him to ascertain whether there would be any objection on the part of government to the establishment of such a Mission. The Governor at the time was Lord William Bentinck, whose administration as Governor-General, a quarter of a century later, was immortalised by the abolition of female immolation. He replied, that though it was beyond his power to grant them official permission to remain in a missionary character at Madras, he was anxious to favour the efforts of every Protestant missionary, and they would meet with no obstruction while he continued in authority. The reply from Serampore was not favourable; but it was written in the spirit which always animated Mr. Carey and his associates. They declined to concur in the establishment of a Baptist Mission at Madras, on the ground that it was their duty to plant the Gospel where it was not already known, and not to enter on other men's labours. The missionaries landed in Calcutta without any molestation. It was enough for government, still under the rule of Lord Wellesley, to know that they were going

to join their brethren at Serampore, to allow them to enter the country without inquiry. The converts welcomed the arrival of four additional friends by what had the appearance of a love-feast. After a meeting of thanksgiving, the little Christian community at Serampore sat down, fifty in number, to an entertainment purely native in its character.

The missionaries were now straitened for accommodation. The Mission consisted of eight families, including Mr. Felix Carey, who had been accepted as a missionary by the Society, and had been recently married.

Purchase of
other premises.

The school had considerably increased, and the printing office required enlargement. The premises to the east of the chapel happened at this time to be offered for sale, and they were purchased without hesitation for 1420*l.*, though the missionaries did not possess the means of paying for them. They sought a loan in Calcutta, but without success, though they were willing to submit to exorbitant terms. At length, a Mr. Maylin, who had realised a considerable fortune as a river trader, and who now took a deep interest in missionary operations, advanced them the requisite funds at 10 per cent. interest. The loan was gradually repaid from the proceeds of their labour; but for the property, they again made themselves trustees on behalf of the Society. The three parcels of ground, which henceforth formed the "Mission premises," and to which we shall have occasion to refer before the close of this work, had thus cost about 3000*l.*, or less than the amount of their net income for two years.

On the 18th of May, the settlement of Serampore was deprived of its excellent Governor, Colonel Bie. He died at the advanced age of seventy-five, after having administered the affairs of the settlement for more than forty years. He was universally beloved by the natives, who crowded to his funeral, exclaiming, "Never shall we see such a master again!" He received Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward under his protection at a

Death of
Colonel Bie.

time when they were refused a footing in the British dominions. He thus became the instrument, under God, of giving the missionary enterprise an asylum, in which it was enabled to weather the opposition of the British Government, and to take root in the country. It was Colonel Bie who recommended the missionaries to the notice of the court of Copenhagen, and procured for them that royal countenance which proved of inestimable value at the most critical period of the Mission. He was buried with military honours, and Mr. Carey performed the funeral service at the grave.

The church at Serampore had, for more than five years, adhered to the practice of what is denominationally called "strict communion;" that is, that none but those who had been baptized by immersion, after a personal confession of faith, were admitted to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward were open communionists when they left England, and the 'beloved commander of the Criterion,' as they usually designated Capt. Wickes, though a Presbyterian, always communicated with them on the voyage. But Mr. Carey had imbibed the principle of strict communion from Mr. Fuller and the other ministers of Northamptonshire, and on the formation of the church at Serampore, persuaded his colleagues to adopt it. The communion table was, therefore, closed against all who did not belong to the Baptist persuasion; and Captain Wickes, on his return to Bengal, was informed — though not without the deepest reluctance — that the rules of the church no longer permitted him to unite with them at the sacrament. Mr. Ward more particularly deplored this rigid, and, as he thought, unlovely proceeding, though he considered it his duty not to disturb the harmony of the church and Mission. But after Mr. Brown had taken up his permanent residence at Serampore, the subject was frequently brought under discussion, and he urged the reconsideration of a rule which debarred many Christian friends from partaking of the

Open communion
in the Church.

sacrament at the Mission Chapel, in conjunction with those whom they held in high esteem. Mr. Marshman was influenced by these arguments, and brought Mr. Carey round to the same views, and the communion table was opened to all who professed the same Christian sentiments. As one result of this relaxation, Mrs. Brown, the wife of the senior chaplain, then the head of the ecclesiastical department at the Presidency, partook periodically of the ordinance with the missionaries. Mr. Ward recorded in his journal, that the alteration was not effected by his arguments, though he should have thought it an honour if it had been so; that their newly-arrived brethren had adopted it cheerfully, and that all the sisters seemed to have been previously on the 'amiable side of the question.' "I rejoice that the first Baptist church in Bengal has shaken off that apparent moroseness of temper which has so long made us appear unlovely in the sight of the Christian world. I am glad that this church considers *real religion* alone as the ground of admission to the Lord's table. With regard to a church state, a stricter union may be required; but to partake of the Lord's Supper worthily, it requires only that a man's heart be right towards God."

Soon after the arrival of this reinforcement of missionaries, a plan was formed for sending Mr. Mardon on a distant and perilous enterprise. The freedom which the missionaries had enjoyed during the administration of Lord Wellesley appears to have given a feeling of elasticity to their minds; and there was no limit in their opinion to the extension of their efforts, except that of their own resources. Mr. Buchanan was preparing at this time to proceed on a visit to the Syrian Christians on the Coromandel coast, to investigate the history, and ascertain the condition of that ancient community. It was an undertaking of deep interest, and the narrative of his researches produced a powerful sensation on its publication in England, where everything connected with India

Proposed Mission to China.

had the charm of novelty and romance. Before he set out on this journey, he offered to place 5000rs. at the disposal of the Serampore missionaries to defray the expense of sending two missionaries overland to the borders of China, to explore the intermediate country, and ascertain the facilities which existed for missionary operations. Such an enterprise was sure to commend itself to Mr. Carey's buoyant mind, and in exact proportion to the difficulties which surrounded it. He would himself have undertaken to carry it out without hesitation, if circumstances had been favourable. He entered into the plan with great ardour, and in his letter to Mr. Fuller, describes, with the greatest coolness, a project of the utmost peril: "It is not improbable that Mr. Mardon and my son Felix may go; their way would be to Dacca, then up the Berhampootra, through Assam, and thus to China." But upon more mature consideration, this dangerous journey was abandoned.

On the 30th of July, the administration of Lord Wellesley terminated by the unexpected arrival of his successor, Lord Cornwallis. He had long been Lord Wellesley's retirement. Remarks on it. anxious to be relieved from a post in which he was incessantly exposed to the hostility of the India House. In November, 1804, the Court of Directors sent out a despatch to Calcutta, in which many of his proceedings were censured in a tone of such acerbity, as to render his position at the head of the government no longer tenable. To these charges, a full and satisfactory reply was given by the united Council of India. The Directors, however, prepared another despatch, long remembered as No. 128, in which they recapitulated all the crimes and misdemeanours with which they considered his administration chargeable. It was a bill of indictment, extending over seven years of the most laborious and brilliant services which the East India Company had ever received from any single individual since Clive had made them sovereigns. It was the concentrated essence of those feelings of animosity which had been fermenting in their minds for years. The Board of

Control quashed the document without reserve, and substituted for it a despatch, written in a spirit of mild remonstrance, and with that feeling of respect which was due to the great achievements of so eminent a statesman. It is true, that Lord Wellesley had sometimes acted with a degree of independence not altogether compatible with that subordinate position which the legislature had assigned to the Governor-General; but this independence of action was in some measure forced on him by the responsibilities of his station, and the delay which at that time attended all references to England. He considered himself entrusted with the interests of a great empire, and the destinies of a large portion of the human family, and his views and actions rose to a level with his position. The Court, on the other hand, had not yet shaken off the feelings of the counting-house, or acquired a due sympathy with those broad, political views which belonged to the empire. While they were spending day after day, and month after month, in debating upon the extent to which they could admit of private trade in India by interlopers, without impairing their monopoly, Lord Wellesley's attention was directed to the expansion, the consolidation, and the improvement of the empire. The extent to which the factious opposition at the India House had affected his mind, may be gathered from his private letters to his friends. To one he writes:—“The motives of the conduct of my personal enemies at the India House are sufficiently evident; and my expectations from that quarter are rather disappointed by any transient and momentary gleam of justice and reason, which may accidentally appear in the general tumults of personal prejudice and vindictive fury.” To another:—“I hope I shall be enabled to relinquish the service of my honourable employers in the month of January or February next. Your lordship may be assured, however, that as no symptoms of tardy remorse displayed by the Honourable Court, in consequence of my recent success in India, will vary my present estimation of the faith and honour of my very

worthy and approved good masters, or protract my continuance in India for one hour beyond the limits prescribed by the public interests, so no additional outrage, injury, or insult, which can issue from the most loathsome den of the India House, will accelerate my departure, while the public safety shall appear to require my aid in this arduous station." The Serampore missionaries, and their undertaking—except on their arrival in 1799—he always regarded with a favourable eye, at a time when the leading members of the Court of Directors and proprietors, and their servants in high places in India, manifested the most unmitigated hostility to it. This fact is strongly corroborated in a letter from Mr. Brown to Mr. Fuller in 1804, in which he says, "The storms within this past year have safely passed over, the danger of which your brethren did not know at the time, as no reference was made to them. They, good people, were securely asleep in the vessel at Serampore, while their printed Bengalee papers, circulated among the Hindoos, were lying before government, charged with inculcating sedition, republicanism, and religious anathemas against the British subjects in India. On these papers, I reported at large. I only troubled your friends for a faithful translation of the papers. I thought it unnecessary to add to their difficulties by acquainting them with the hard speeches uttered against them at the time. At present, all is tranquil; when the Gospel is received by the Hindoos, then will you hear of another storm." Lord Wellesley not only permitted the introduction of other missionaries into India, but he allowed them to travel freely through the country, preaching the Gospel and distributing tracts and Scriptures, without inquiry. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Calcutta, to the number of six hundred, went up to him with a valedictory address, Mr. Carey and his two colleagues felt themselves bound, by feelings of gratitude as well as of patriotism, to unite with them in offering "that testimony of esteem which they felt to be so justly due to the merits of his administration."

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This proceeding of the missionaries did not, however, meet with Mr. Fuller's concurrence. In writing to them on the subject, he said, "Gratitude required your acknowledgment to Marquis Wellesley, but not your signature to a paper which approves and boasts of his wars, which are here generally thought to be nearly as ambitious and unjust as those of Bonaparte." But the allusion to these wars, in the address, was exceedingly moderate: "Your discernment in seeing the exigencies of the country, and of the times in which you were called to act—the promptness and determination with which you have seized on the opportunities of acting—your just conception and masterly use of our own intrinsic strength—have eminently contributed, in conjunction with the zeal, the discipline, and the courage of our armies, to decide upon these events, and to establish from one extremity of the empire to the other the ascendancy of the British name and dominion." But even if the allusion had been more distinct and pointed, Mr. Fuller's censure must be taken simply as reflecting the opinions which then prevailed in England on the growth of our Indian empire. In India, where the baseness of the native character is thoroughly understood, and we confront the restless spirit of native intrigue and the faithlessness of native princes, the exigencies in which these wars have originated are fully appreciated. Mr. Fuller, on the contrary, and the community in England, appear to have generally, if not invariably, adopted the conclusion that every war waged in India had been, was, and ever must be a war of aggression, the offspring of unprincipled ambition, and was therefore to be condemned without any examination. It is a singular circumstance, without a parallel in history, that during the century in which our possessions have been expanding from the size of three narrow factories to the dimensions of an empire larger than that of Rome, the people of England, and its journalists and statesmen, with rare exceptions, have at every

Mr. Fuller disapproves of the missionaries' address to Lord Wellesley.

successive stage of progress, considered it a sacred duty to denounce the proceedings of the Indian Government. Few have dispassionately investigated the causes of the wars they have so violently condemned, or done justice to the sincere reluctance with which the Government in India has in almost every instance entered upon them. Few have been able to discern the singular yet undeniable movements of Providence by which that empire has been created, and its responsibilities thrust on the British nation, contrary to its wishes, and in spite of the universal reprobation of the public and the denunciations of Parliament. Mr. Fuller's observations may be readily excused when we find that after the lapse, not of fifty, but a hundred years, when the British supremacy in the East is among the facts of history, and the improvement of its hundred and fifty millions is considered the most stringent of national obligations, there are yet men to be found, reasonable enough in other points, who twaddle about the lust of territorial aggrandisement, and shed tears over the misfortunes of pensioned princes, and heave a patriotic sigh at the degradation of the British name and character in India.

Immediately before Lord Wellesley's departure, Mr. Carey and Mr. Marshman undertook the publication of some of the most celebrated Sanscrit works, under the patronage of Government. Two years before this period, Mr. Carey had submitted a proposal to the College of Fort William to print a series of Sanscrit classics. The plan was deemed too extensive by some, and, happening to come under discussion at the time when the fate of the College itself was trembling in the balance, it was folded up. But the College had now been respite by the Court of Directors, and the time was deemed propitious for renewing the proposal. Mr. Carey brought it to the notice of Dr. Francis Buchanan, who had recently completed the statistical survey of eight districts in Bengal and Behar. That enthusiastic

Publication of
Sanskrit works.

antiquary welcomed Mr. Carey's plan with delight, and brought it to the notice of Sir John Anstruther, the chief justice, who was at the time the president of the Asiatic Society. He became equally solicitous for the prosecution of this literary undertaking, and it was eventually arranged that the College of Fort William and the Asiatic Society should each subscribe 150 rupees a month towards the expense of publishing any works which might be selected in the original Sanscrit, with an English translation. At the recommendation of Mr. Carey, it was resolved to begin with the Ramayun, the Iliad of Sanscrit literature. The translation of this work, which was a most arduous undertaking, was now added to the labours of Mr. Carey and Mr. Marshman, but the toil was lightened by the reflection that "means would thus be obtained of supporting at least one missionary station."

Mr. Carey and his colleagues had from the period of their settlement at Serampore contemplated with painful interest the immolation of widows. They had been unremitting in their endeavours to draw the attention of government to it. This inhuman practice was little known at the time in England, and was regarded merely as one of the characteristic features of society among "the Gentoos." No feeling of national responsibility was associated with the continuance of this rite under British rule. Few, either in England or in India, appeared to be aware of the extent to which it was practised, and the missionaries considered that the first step towards its abolition was to bring the number of victims prominently into view. They accordingly deputed natives in 1803 to travel from place to place, within a circle of thirty miles round Calcutta, to make inquiries on the subject, and the number was found to exceed four hundred in the year. To obtain a more accurate return, ten agents were the next year stationed within this circle at different places on the banks of the river, and they continued at their stations for six months,

Immolation of
widows.

noting down every instance of suttee which came within their observation. The result gave the number at three hundred. At the same time Mr. Carey collected from the pundits connected with the College, the various texts in the shastrus, on which this practice was based. These documents were placed in the hands of Mr. Udney, the philanthropic member of Council, and embodied by him in a representation which he submitted on the subject to Lord Wellesley and the Supreme Council. It was the first official notice regarding female immolation which had appeared on the records of government. In that paper he dwelt on the enormity of a practice so revolting to every feeling of humanity, and stated the extent to which it appeared, on the most unexceptionable testimony, to prevail. He referred to the instances in which government had already endeavoured to vindicate the claims of humanity, by a law passed in 1795, which prohibited brahmins, in the province of Benares, wounding or killing their female relatives, and the tribe of Rajkoomars destroying their female children, as well as the law of 1802, which interdicted human sacrifices at Saugor. Mr. Udney likewise drew the attention of his colleagues to the extracts the pundits had furnished from the Hindoo canon law, which tended to show that the rite was rather countenanced than positively commanded. He concluded this excellent address by entreating the Governor-General and Sir George Barlow to concur with him in putting down the custom by a positive enactment. But Lord Wellesley was to quit the Government in seven days, and there was not leisure for the full investigation of a measure which involved great questions of public policy. However anxious to prevent these religious suicides, he naturally felt that the prohibition of a rite which had been uninterruptedly practised, as the natives affirmed, from the golden age of the world, and which, though it might not have the direct authority of law had the more important sanction of habit

and was moreover considered by the Hindoos as one of the most glorious institutions of their religion, required more deliberation than the Council could at that time bestow on it. The question was therefore postponed for another quarter of a century, and twenty thousand more victims ascended the funeral pile, and sacrificed themselves to the principles of a bloody superstition.

CHAP. V

LORD CORNWALLIS landed in Calcutta with the finger of death upon him. Those who had been present at his departure from the shores of India twelve years before in robust health and buoyant spirits, could not remark without regret the contrast which his emaciated countenance and exhausted frame now presented. Mr. Brown writes on this occasion to Mr. Charles Grant, "From the day that Lord Cornwallis arrived among us a universal gloom overspread the faces of the people of this settlement, not from any party or political sentiments, but we all thought that he would die, and die soon, and that he was unnecessarily sacrificed. His most affectionate and zealous friends perceived that his memory and faculties were greatly impaired, and that his strength was exhausted." The second appointment of Lord Cornwallis to India at the age of sixty-six, after his mental and bodily energies had been exhausted by thirty years of incessant service in America, India, and Ireland, was an act it would be difficult to justify. But that appointment was considered by the Court of Directors the strongest practical condemnation they could devise of the measures of Lord Wellesley, to whose imperial policy Lord Cornwallis was diametrically opposed. In the language of Leadenhall Street, "it was intended to express volumes," and his life was sacrificed to the inveteracy of prejudice against the man to whom thirty-six years later the India House raised a statue as "a public, conspicuous, and permanent mark of the admiration and gratitude of the East India Company." Lord Cornwallis

Lord Cornwallis,
Governor-General.

proceeded to the north-west provinces immediately on his arrival, to reverse the measures of his predecessor; but on reaching Gazeepore his medical advisers, to his great surprise and disappointment, determined that it would be imprudent to proceed farther, and he died at that station two months after landing in Cal-

His death.

cutta. There was no chaplain with his fleet, and the only Governor-General who has ever died in India was therefore interred without any funeral service. Regarding the conversion or even improvement of the natives he never manifested any feeling but that of profound indifference. He was succeeded temporarily in the office of Governor-General by Sir George Barlow, who had been twenty-seven years in the civil service, and had gradually risen to the post of senior member of council after a meritorious career. From his long experience he had acquired much official aptitude, and his abilities were respectable; but he was little beyond a plodding man of routine, and totally destitute of that grasp of mind or strength of character which the government of the British empire in the East required. While he continued under the influence of Lord Wellesley's mind, he freely supported those liberal principles which marked the era of that great statesman, and it was even hoped by some that he would tread in his footsteps. In writing to Mr. Grant on the subject, Mr. Brown, who had been his associate for five years in the administration of the college, said, "You have now Sir George Barlow in the chair, an able man, one that fears God, and a man of truth, hating covetousness. Tell him to uphold the Christian religion in this land and he will do it. If you wish to bring forward any extensive plan for evangelising your Asiatic subjects, he is the man for your views." But on Lord Wellesley's departure other counsels began to prevail in the Council Chamber, and Sir George's feeble and irresolute spirit allowed the anti-missionary party to gain the ascendancy and regulate his movements. To such an extent was this carried that in

a few months Mr. Brown described him as a second Julian. He was no apostate, but he was timid, and the want of moral courage brought in question even his Christian virtues. The difficulties of the missionaries date from his appointment, and they were more or less exposed to the storms of opposition for the succeeding eight years, till Parliament took the decision of the missionary question into its own hands.

In their direct missionary labours during this year Mr. Carey and his colleagues experienced great alternations of success and disappointment. In March Missionary aspect of 1805. “they regret the low state of things among them—no inquirers—no new converts.” Soon after they remark that every inquirer had left them clandestinely. The misconduct of some who had embraced Christianity, and the profligacy of others, disgraced the cause in the eyes of the heathen, and inflicted the deepest distress on the feelings of the missionaries. But they determined to redouble their efforts in watching over those who remained within the fold, and itinerating among those who were without. On the 1st of June they baptised Kangalee, the firstfruits of the Cutwa Mission. Sheetaram, one of their most energetic itinerants, had been stationed in Jessore, and he brought two inquirers on the 15th of that month, a Rayust and a husbandman, who were received into the Church a week after by baptism. In August, Petumber Sing, one of the earliest and most sincere and exemplary of the converts was removed by death. His walk and conversation since his conversion had been honourable, and in his death he exhibited the triumph of Christian truth. A brief narrative of his life was drawn up and published, the first of a series of memoirs of native Christians which the Serampore missionaries compiled, and which served to give fresh interest to the missionary cause at home, and to strengthen the faith of the converts in India. Towards the close of the year their missionary prospects began to brighten. On the 20th of October

they had no fewer than fifteen inquirers at or near Calcutta, all of whom were baptised before the close of the year. The total number of additions to the church in this year, which opened with so little promise, was thirty-four, all of whom, with the exception of four, were adult natives.

The number of missionaries now residing at Serampore amounted to eight, and Mr. Carey and his colleagues were anxious to establish subordinate stations in the country. Previous to the adoption of this plan, however, they considered it important to place on record the leading principles on which they thought it their duty to act in the work of evangelising the heathen. This document embodies the experience of six years of ardent and unremitting exertion in the missionary field, and is interesting, not merely from the strong illustration it affords of their devotedness to the work, but also from the sound and practical views of missionary labour which it exhibits. It will be necessary, therefore, to present a rather copious analysis of its contents. They considered it necessary, in order to gain the attention of the heathen, that the missionary should be fully acquainted with the current of thought which prevailed among them, with their habits, their propensities, their antipathies, and the mode in which they reasoned about God, sin, holiness, the way of salvation, and a future state; and that he should not forget the humiliating character of their idolatrous worship, feasts, and songs. They considered it necessary to abstain from whatever would tend to increase the repugnance of the natives to the Gospel, to keep out of sight those English peculiarities which were offensive to their feelings, and at the same time to avoid any attack on their prejudices by exhibiting any degree of acrimony against the sins of their gods, and on no account to do violence to their images, or to interrupt their worship — “the real conquests of the Gospel being those of love.” “It becomes us,” they remark, “to watch all opportunities of doing

Principles of the
missionary enter-
prise.

good, to carry on conversations with the natives almost every hour in the day, to go from village to village, from market to market, from one assembly to another, and to be instant in season and out of season; this is the life to which we are called in this country." Regarding the style of their addresses to the heathen, they notice the necessity of adhering to the example of the Apostle Paul and making the subject of their preaching, 'Christ the crucified.' "The doctrine of Christ's expiatory death and all-sufficient merits has been, and ever must remain, the grand means of salvation." They deemed it important that the natives should repose the most entire confidence in the missionary, and feel at home in his company, and that in order to gain this confidence he should be willing to listen to their complaints, to give them the kindest advice, and to decide on everything brought before him in the most open, upright, and impartial manner. "We ought to form them to habits of industry, and to exercise much tenderness and forbearance, knowing that industrious habits are formed with difficulty in all heathen nations. We ought also to remember that they have no common sacrifices to make in renouncing their connections, their homes, their former situations, and means of support, and that it will be difficult for them to procure employment with heathen masters." Regarding their conduct towards the Government, the missionaries observe that it was their duty to honour the civil magistrate, and in every state and country to render him the readiest obedience, whether persecuted or protected, and that it became them to instruct their native brethren in the same principles.

Among the means of diffusing Christian truth in India they considered the training of native preachers as the most important. "Another part of our work is the forming of our native brethren to usefulness, fostering every kind of genius, and cherishing every gift and grace in them; in this respect, we can scarcely be too lavish of our attention to their improve-

ment. It is only by means of native preachers we can hope for the universal spread of the Gospel through this immense continent. Europeans are too few, and their subsistence costs too much,"—even upon their scale of allowances, scarcely 100*l.* a year,—“for us ever to hope that they can possibly be the instruments of the universal diffusion of the Word among so many millions.” And it was mainly in reference to the establishment of native churches, with native pastors, that their attention was fixed on the necessity of improving the talents of native converts. “The different native churches will, in that case, also, naturally learn to care and provide for their ministers, for their church expenses, and the raising places of worship; and the whole administration will assume a native aspect, by which means the inhabitants will more readily identify the cause as belonging to their own nation. If, under the divine blessing, in the course of a few years, a number of native churches be thus established, from them the Word of God may sound out even to the extremities of India, and numbers of preachers being raised up and sent forth may form a body of native missionaries, inured to the climate, acquainted with the customs, languages, modes of speech and reasoning of the people, able to become perfectly familiar with them, to enter their houses, to live on their food, to sleep with them, or under a tree, and who may travel from one end of the country to another, almost without any expense.” The document then refers, in strong language, to the duty of promoting translations of the Sacred Scriptures into the languages of Hindoostan, and of distributing religious tracts as extensively as possible, as well as of establishing native free schools; and it closes with the following disinterested and animating exhortation, written in Mr. Ward’s own fervid style,—the paper was drawn up by him. “Finally, let us give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our

families, or even the clothes we wear, are our own. Let us sanctify them all to God and His cause. Oh, that He may sanctify us for this work! Let us for ever shut out the idea of laying up a cownie for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade, when we first united at Serampore, the Mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work will succeed the moment it is admitted that each brother may do something on his own account."

To turn now to the progress of the Translations. The proposal made by the Serampore missionaries to the Society in England, in April, 1804, to translate and publish the Bible, or portions of it, in seven of the chief languages of India, if they could obtain aid to the extent of 1000*l.* a year, exactly coincided with Mr. Fuller's broad views, and he determined to take on himself the labour of introducing it to the public, and raising funds. With this view, he proceeded on a tour through the northern counties of England, and into Scotland, travelled thirteen hundred miles, and preached fifty sermons. The "catholicity" of the plan enabled him to appeal to the sympathies of all denominations,—the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian, the Methodist and the Independent, as well as the Baptist. He noted in a journal, which he sent to his friends at Serampore, the chief incidents of the tour, and his various conversations and addresses on this novel and interesting topic, and it served to increase in no small degree the admiration which they had always felt for his talents and energy. He succeeded in raising the sum of 1300*l.*, which was sent to India by way of America, where an addition of more than 700*l.* was made to the fund. Mr. Fuller's labours on this occasion laid the foundation of a permanent interest in Oriental translations, and enabled him, in the subsequent stages of the undertaking, to appeal with confidence to the liberality of those who had thus given him the firstfruits of their sympathy.

Unknown to Mr. Fuller, the Bible Society, then recently formed, had likewise directed its attention to the translation and distribution of the Sacred Volume in the languages of the East. Before this noble institution had been three months in existence a communication was opened with Mr. Udny in Calcutta, in which he was requested to unite with Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan and with the three Serampore missionaries in forming a committee of correspondence, relative to the best means of diffusing Christian truth in the Eastern languages. The communication was dated in July, 1804, and was sent immediately on its arrival to Mr. Buchanan, to be made known to Mr. Carey and his associates. Mr. Buchanan was a man of liberal feelings, and anxious to promote the cause of religion. At this time, moreover, there was less of a sectarian spirit among men of evangelical sentiments in the Church of England in Calcutta and its vicinity, than had perhaps ever been exhibited since the passing of the Act of Uniformity. The Serampore missionaries constantly attended the ministry of the Episcopal Church when in Calcutta with great delight and advantage, and the evangelical clergymen and their families worshipped with the missionaries in their own chapel at Serampore. In a letter written to a friend in England by Mr. Buchanan, he remarked, "We have some of all sects in our congregation, but a name or a sect is never mentioned in the pulpit." Yet, when the idea of being officially associated with the Serampore missionaries, though for the promotion of a great and catholic object, was presented to his mind, he appeared to shrink from the sacrifice of feeling or of dignity which it might involve. He retained the letter of the Bible Society for many months without communicating its contents to them, and they heard of its existence only by an incidental allusion to it by Mr. Udny, who thought they were fully cognisant of it. Mr. Carey immediately called on Mr. Buchanan, and urged the immediate formation of the committee, but he only expressed his astonishment at the

liberality and condescension of the Bible Society in thus inviting Dissenters to unite in a committee which would have to correspond with bishops, and added that "nothing could be done at present." Yet the Bible Society itself grew out of the suggestions of Mr. Hughes, a Baptist, and was originally established by Dissenters, though afterwards taken up by some Churchmen, and virulently opposed by others. Mr. Carey and Mr. Marshman then introduced the subject to Mr. Brown, and found that his mind was likewise filled with admiration at the liberality of the bishops and other members of the Church of England in the Bible Society, in thus nominating three Dissenters to act with them, and he augured well of the Society on this ground, but he stated in like manner, that no step could be taken at that time towards the formation of the committee.

But this did not satisfy the missionaries. They had no ambition to correspond with dignitaries of the Church of England, but they could ill brook that the publication of the Scriptures in the languages of India should be postponed till Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan had recovered from their surprise at the liberality of the bishops. Mr. Carey, therefore, incessantly urged on his colleagues the necessity of making some immediate and vigorous effort towards the accomplishment of the work,—they had not then heard of Mr. Fuller's success in England. Mr. Carey was anxious that the hands of the Bible Society should be strengthened by local co-operation, and that, as the formation of the Corresponding Committee appeared now to be indefinitely postponed, an attempt should be made at once to raise funds for this object in India. Mr. Marshman accordingly sat down to the compilation of an elaborate "Memoir on the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into the languages of the East," on which an appeal for public subscriptions was to be founded. The memoir opened with the remark "that after Europeans had been enriched with the gold, the gems, and the pre-

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Memoir.

cious things of the Eastern world, gratitude, reason, and religion required that a small portion of the wealth thus acquired should be appropriated to the purpose of repaying the debt, and imparting the Word of Life to their fellow-subjects in India." It proceeded to state that the languages current in India, besides the Sanscrit, were the Persian, the Hindostanee, the Bengalee, the Mahratta, the Ooriya, and the Telinga, and that their mutual affinity, and their derivation from a common parent, rendered the translation of the Bible into them, with the aid of learned pundits who might be easily procured, comparatively easy. He then went into a minute calculation of the expense of the undertaking, and assumed that the publication of the New Testament in the seven languages would require about 36,700 rupees, and he suggested that as this work would be spread over a period of nine years, it was desirable, if possible, to raise a sum of 60,000 rupees, which at the current interest of the day would yield 54,000 rupees during that time, and leave the capital untouched for future and improved editions. As the memoir was intended to assist the labours of the Serampore Missionaries in particular, as well as to introduce the subject of translations generally to the public, a full account was given of the progress which had been made in the work at Serampore, in the Hindostanee, Persian, Mahratta, and Ooriya versions. The memoir concluded by referring to the various sources of encouragement which were presented for the prosecution of the work, and wound up with an earnest appeal to the Christian sympathies of the public. But this appeal, which would have been fully appreciated, and doubtless nobly responded to by Christians in England, would have been lost upon a community in which half the public officers, civil and military, were "immured in loathsome seraglios," and the few merchants and lawyers who were making fortunes in Calcutta, had no other idea than that of retiring with them, at the earliest period, to their native land. The memoir was

sent to Mr. Brown, who expressed the strongest approbation of it, but advised the omission of the introduction and the final appeal, as being too strange and too strong for an infidel public.

When the memoir had thus been revised and pruned, Mr. Marshman, at the advice of Mr. Brown, called on Mr. Buchanan to solicit his co-operation. At this Remodelling of the memoir. interview, Mr. Buchanan proposed that the Chinese language should be added to the list, and that Mr. Marshman himself should forthwith enter on the study of that language under the tuition of a Mr. Lassar, to whom allusion will presently be made. Mr. Marshman deemed this "a call of Providence which ought not to be neglected," whatever labour it might involve, and he consented to undertake the task. Mr. Buchanan requested that the paper should be left with him, but soon after threw it aside altogether and worked up the material into another memoir, "better calculated," as he said, "for the meridian of India." Mr. Marshman could not repress some feeling of annoyance at this unceremonious supersession of his labours, but his own object, and that of his colleagues, was the prosecution of a great public object, not the gratification of their own feelings, and they therefore adopted the new memoir. Mr. Buchanan, who thought nothing could succeed without state patronage, had intended to usher it into notice under the auspices of the College of Fort William, and the sanction of Government. But Sir George Barlow, although "personally disposed to favour the undertaking, declined to authorise a measure which might appear to identify the Government too closely with an extensive plan for promoting Christian knowledge among our native subjects." All allusion to Government was, therefore, omitted; but Mr. Buchanan was determined to associate the plan as closely as possible with the College of Fort William — for reasons which will hereafter appear;—and the missionaries were therefore made to say, at the close of the memoir, that their hopes of success in

this undertaking depended chiefly on its patronage. "To that institution," it was stated, "they were much indebted for the progress they had made. Oriental translations had become comparatively easy, in consequence of their having the aid of those learned men from distant provinces in Asia, who had been assembled during the last six years in that great emporium of Eastern letters." The proposals were printed at Serampore, with the signature of all the missionaries there, and surmounted by a vignette with a figure of Britannia presenting the New Testament to a Hindoo. This was added at the particular request of Mr. Buchanan, who transmitted copies of the paper, far and wide, to the archbishops and bishops, and deans and universities, in England, as well as to the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. He sent them also under a college frank to all the public functionaries in India, and to Maharaja Dowlut Rao Scindia, through the British Resident, with a copy of the Maharratta Gospels. Even the Emperor of Russia did not escape the recollection of Mr. Buchanan. He likewise requested the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to permit two sermons to be preached on the translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental languages, and the sum of thirty guineas to be presented to each preacher. The offer was at once accepted.

The subscriptions raised on these proposals did not, however, exceed 10,000 rs., exclusive of a donation of 5000 rs. from Mr. Buchanan, and another of 1000 rs. from Mr. Brown. In April, 1806, it ^{Subscriptions to the translations.} was agreed that the missionaries should draw 300 rs. a month from the fund to assist them in the translations. Animated by this encouragement, they pushed on the versions of the New Testament in the Sanscrit, the Maharratta, and the Ooriya, and, soon after, in the Hindoostanee and Persian languages. Mr. Carey and his two associates were now fairly embarked in the work of translations, for which they had been making preparations for

three years. Their plans were now before the public, and they were committed to the energetic prosecution of the enterprise, upon which they entered with an earnestness of purpose and a vigour of action which have seldom been surpassed. This great undertaking may be said to have originated in the enthusiasm of Mr. Carey, and to have been urged forward by the fervent co-operation of Mr. Marshman, and the warm encouragement of Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Ward, though determined to second the efforts of his brethren to the utmost of his power, and to work the press with redoubled vigour, did not view without some concern this diversion of their exertions from the actual missionary work before them, and he recorded in a minute a very earnest remonstrance on this subject: "I recommend to brethren Carey and Marshman to enter upon the translations which we can distribute with our own hands, and which may be fitted for stations which we ourselves can occupy. As to making Bibles for other missionaries, I recommend them to be cautious lest they should be wasting time and life on that which every vicissitude may frustrate. I tell them that the Jesuit missionaries have made grammars, dictionaries, and translations in abundance, which are now rotting in the libraries of Rome. I remind them that life is short, that this life may evaporate in schemes of translations for China, Bootan, the Mahrattā country, &c., while the good in our hands and at our doors is left undone. I urge them to push things which are in our power, and, under Providence, at our own command. By spending so much of our time on translations which we can never distribute, we may leave undone translations nearer home, and leave the Mission at our deaths in such an unestablished state that all may come to nothing; whereas, if it be once well established and pretty extensively spread in Bengal, this will secure all these translations and everything else within proper time."

Mr. Fuller also regarded these extended measures with

feelings of sincere, though perhaps misplaced, distrust. "I must repeat to you," he writes to the missionaries, "that I and some others are under strong apprehensions that the friendship of Mr. Buchanan to you and the Mission is purchased too dear, and that you are in great danger of being drawn into his worldly political religion. Your printed proposals, which must be of his moulding, have sunk you much in the esteem of many. They are unworthy of your names. . . . If Mr. Buchanan had not known and felt that you were under his influence, he would not have ventured to alter brother Carey's Sanscrit speech, and send it, interspersed with flattery, to the Governor-General without his knowledge. Beware, my brethren, of the counsel of Mr. Worldly Wiseman. He will draw you off from the simplicity of Christ, and, under pretence of liberality, &c., you will be shorn like Samson of his locks." But Mr. Fuller was mistaken in characterising Mr. Buchanan's religion as a worldly and political religion. His private letters, written at this time to his bosom friends, and which afford us an index of the genuine feelings of his heart, breathe a spirit of Christian piety and humility as fervent as can be found in the correspondence of Mr. Fuller's own ministerial brethren. There was, undeniably, too much of diplomacy in his character, and many besides Mr. Fuller were thus led to regard his proceedings with mistrust; but it was the natural temperament of his mind, not the absence of vital religion, which led him to set an undue value on the countenance of the great for the spread of divine truth. Perhaps he never sufficiently appreciated the force of the scriptural declaration, that the cause of truth was to be established "not by might, nor by power, but by the spirit of the Lord;" and he was always labouring to secure for the missionary enterprise the support of political authorities and the patronage of ecclesiastical dignitaries, and he laid himself out to obtain this aid, and with so much earnestness, that those who were not acquainted with the

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observations.

real excellences of his character charged him with a tuft hunting ambition.

Mr. Buchanan, on being appointed vice-provost of the college, and brought into confidential intercourse with Lord Wellesley, determined to spare no exertion State of religion in India. to obtain an ecclesiastical establishment for India suited to the majesty of the empire. At that time religion was at the lowest ebb throughout the country, and the condition of the clerical department deplorable. Lord Wellesley, after his return from the conquest of Mysore, was presented with a memorial by the two chaplains stationed in Calcutta, in which they stated that the number of chaplains in the service was not greater than in the infancy of the settlement; that even in Calcutta divine service was performed only in the morning at one church, and in the evening at another, and that in the interior of the country there was no service at all. They stated that chaplains had formerly ranked as majors, but had subsequently been reduced to the rank of captains, yet they were the men who "stood in the room of a dignified clergy, to support the Christian religion in a remote country, far from the fountains of ecclesiastical authority, honour, and respect;" that the number of chaplains throughout the Presidency was then reduced to five; that some of them had proved unworthy of their profession, the chief cause of which was "that the salaries were so small, and the situation so ineligible, that few men respectable for learning or character would accept the appointments." At that time chaplaincies were given away at the India House, like assistant-surgeonships, from favour or importunity, and without any reference whatever to the merit or fitness of the candidate. The description given of two out of the five chaplains by one of the most eminent of their own body at this time runs thus: "Mr. — is avaricious in the extreme, and pockets more than half the allowance of his clerk. Mr. —, just arrived, came out professedly to get bread for his children. I knew one

clergyman on our establishment who had neither Bible nor Prayer-book." Nor was the state of things better at Bombay. Mr. Charles Grant, writing to Sir James Mackintosh in this year, said, "I am pained and shocked by your account of the clergy, so called, on the Bombay establishment. The fault, I am sorry to say, is too much in this House, which has generally had something worse than indifference on this important subject, and by narrowing the numbers and allowances, and filling up vacancies on the mere principle of patronage, has too generally furnished the fittest subjects for nourishing a disregard of religion among Englishmen in the East. . . . Several of the assistant-chaplaincies voted yet remain empty. But it is better they should do so than be filled up by such execrable characters as you describe. Mr. — ought absolutely to be turned out of the service in the same manner as a dishonest civilian, or a cowardly soldier; and as Mr. — is deranged, he should be reported home, that another may be appointed in his place."

Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan considered that the most effectual cure of these disorders was to be found in the appointment of bishops, and they were incessant in urging it on the attention of Mr. Grant in England, and Lord Wellesley in Calcutta. The plan of an ecclesiastical establishment in India, surrounded with pomp and dignity, was in exact accordance with Lord Wellesley's magnificent views, and he gave the two chaplains every encouragement to exertion. "He thinks," writes Mr. Buchanan, "that there will be no difficulty in getting a few bishops appointed to India, and means to carry the point when he goes home; but he deprecates mentioning so sacred a subject to the Court of Directors." Immediately after Lord Wellesley's return to England, Mr. Buchanan revised for the press his "Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, both as the means of Perpetuating the Christian Religion among our Countrymen, and as a Foundation for

Proposed
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establishment.

the ultimate Civilisation of the Natives." It was this memoir which may be said to have laid the foundation of the episcopal establishment in India, which Parliament voted eight years later. It was very appropriately dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and stated that the strength of the ecclesiastical department in India was not much greater than it was in the days of Clive; that there were three chaplains in Calcutta, and six in the interior of the country; but that during the previous ten years there had not been more than two thirds of the number present. He likewise remarked that the want of an ecclesiastical establishment had produced a system, not only of extreme irregularity in the discipline of the English Church, but of positive offence against Christian institutions; and that for thirty years marriages, burials, and even baptisms had been performed by the civil magistrates and military officers. A request was therefore preferred for one archbishop and two bishops for the continent of India, and one bishop for Ceylon and the islands, leaving the number of "rectors and curates" to be regulated by circumstances. The rest of the memoir was devoted to the great question of the civilisation and conversion of the heathen, the promotion of which was one of the chief objects of the proposed establishment. Mr. Buchanan's remarks on this branch of the subject are peculiarly valuable from the light they afford of the views then entertained by men in power on the evangelisation of the natives. He states that it had been accounted in England a virtue not to remove the prejudices of the ignorant natives, nor to reprove their idolatry, nor to touch their bloody superstitions, and that this sentiment had been emblazoned with much eloquence and rendered very popular. The religion of the natives was considered an accident, or a peculiarity, like the colour or form of the body, and no effort was therefore to be made to change it. These views Mr. Buchanan earnestly reprobated in his memoir, and endeavoured to establish the policy and

the necessity of enlightening the Hindoos, and giving them a knowledge of the Gospel. The truths which he laboured to inculcate with much zeal fifty years ago are now so universally admitted, that it appears incredible that there ever could have existed a period when they were controverted. But the age was indifferent to all religion, and intensely hostile to missions; and it was partly to the writings of Mr. Buchanan, but more especially to the persevering labours of the missionaries at Serampore, that the more enlightened views of the present time have become predominant.

Mr. Buchanan placed his chief hope of success regarding the spread of Divine truth in India on labours patronised by episcopal authority. Fourteen years before the date of this memoir he was a member of the Presbyterian Church, in which he had been born and trained; but like some others who have been transplanted late in life into the Church of England, he regarded it with a more profound and prostrate veneration than others who have been nurtured from infancy in its bosom. Indeed, his attachment to the Church sometimes wore the appearance of idolatry. Though liberal towards missionary labourers of other denominations, he was intensely desirous that every such exertion should, if possible, be associated with and controlled by Church dignitaries. He stated in the memoir that any extensive establishment for the instruction of the natives could not possibly be efficiently organised without a local Church. "When once our national Church shall have been confirmed in India, the members of that Church will be the best qualified to advise the State as to the means by which, from time to time, the civilisation of the natives can be promoted." It was with no unfriendly feeling towards his friends at Serampore that these proposals were put forward. In the memoir he makes the most honourable mention of their labours, and alludes to the senior member as "the venerable Mr. Carey, for many

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views on that
subject.

years the Protestant missionary in the north of India, following the steps of the late Mr. Schwartz in the south, in classical and oriental literature his superior, and not inferior in laborious study and Christian zeal." But their humble efforts, however meritorious, were not commensurate with his own grander ideas of effecting the conversion of the natives by the influence and splendour of an Established Church. His views were more clearly developed in his private letter to the archbishop. "One observation I would make on the proposed ecclesiastical establishment. A partial or half measure will have no useful effect. A few additional chaplains can do nothing toward the attainment of the great object in view. An archbishop is wanted for India, a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his bishops, of ample revenue and extensive sway; a venerable personage, whose name shall be greater than that of the transitory governors of the land; and whose fame for piety and for the will and power to do good may pass through every region. We want something royal, in a spiritual or temporal sense, for the abject subjects of this great Eastern empire to look up to."

There has now been a bishop at the Bengal Presidency for more than forty years, and for nearly half that period a metropolitan, with two suffragan bishops, an ample revenue, a spacious palace, a high place in the order of precedence, and extensive sway, entitled to public salutes from the battery of every fort, and travelling in pomp through the length and breadth of his diocese at the public expense. But Mr. Buchanan's expectations of the result of such an establishment have never been realised. The Episcopal Establishment has exerted little influence except in its own community, and even in that circle chiefly by strengthening "Church principles." No change, such as Mr. Buchanan contemplated, has been produced by it in the great interests or prospects of the country. No Governor-General has ever deemed it neces-

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sary, or even advantageous, to consult the bishop or the ministers of the episcopal church "as to the means by which the civilisation of the natives may be promoted." Seminaries have been established for the education of natives in and around Calcutta, which include more than 10,000 scholars, yet no body of men have had so little to do with these plans as the episcopal clergy. These remarks are made with no invidious feelings, but simply to show, from the experience of the last forty-five years, how fallacious were the views entertained of the influence of an episcopal establishment by the individual with whom they originated. Mr. Buchanan desired to introduce into India an ecclesiastical edifice, after the model of that of England; he might as well have thought of transplanting an English House of Lords into that country. The "Establishment" in India, as it is sometimes erroneously called, is still military in its character and organisation; the chaplains are still army chaplains, with military rank and military pensions, and their duties are understood by the Government to be confined to the servants of the State. The ecclesiastical department of the State, therefore, includes Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians. In India, as elsewhere, Government repudiates the idea of organising, beyond the confines of England, any ecclesiastical establishment, with the same character, power, and position, which exists at home. Whether India should form an exception to all the colonial dependencies of the Crown, and in the youth of its new institutions witness anything like an exclusive religious establishment, paid by and united with the State, may form matter for grave discussion. That position has been claimed by some of the able prelates who have filled the see of Calcutta; but, hitherto, there has not been the slightest disposition on the part of the Government to make this concession.—To return to Mr. Buchanan's memoir. The publication of the work in England naturally created the impression that he would not have been displeased to

receive the appointment to the first Indian bishopric. Mr. Brown indeed wrote to Mr. Charles Grant, recommending in the strongest terms the elevation of Mr. Buchanan to episcopal dignity in the East; and Mr. Grant appears to have sounded Mr. Buchanan on the subject, but he pronounced the "*Nolo episcopari*," with a stronger emphasis than usual, and there is reason to believe with more than ordinary sincerity. "As to my returning in order to receive episcopal dignity, my soul sinks at the thought of it. I trust my lines will rather be cast in a curacy. Place the mitre on any head. Never fear; it will do good among the Hindoos."

At the beginning of 1806, Mr. Marshman commenced the study of Chinese, with a view to the translation of the Scriptures into that language. Considering the circumstances in which he was placed, the surpassing difficulty of this unique language, and the absence of facilities for the acquisition of it, it will be readily admitted that few men have undertaken a bolder or more arduous task. Mr. Buchanan found one Johannes Lassar, in Calcutta, an Armenian, born at Macao, who had applied to the study of the written Chinese language, with a view to commercial pursuits, while the colloquial tongue was familiar to him by intercourse with the people from his infancy. He was engaged by Mr. Buchanan to translate the New Testament into Chinese, on a salary of 300 rupees a month, which he engaged to pay for a time from his own purse. Mr. Lassar subsequently removed to Serampore, where Mr. Marshman entered upon his Chinese studies with the aid of this oral instruction and Duhalde's Dictionary. For fifteen years he devoted to this severe and wearisome employment every moment he could create by the most rigid economy of time, and, too often, by encroaching on the hours of rest; and he has the merit of having carried the first Chinese translation of the Scriptures through the press. The translation was necessarily imperfect; indeed, con-

Mr. Marshman
commences the
study of Chinese.

sidering the great disadvantages under which it was executed, it could not have been otherwise, and it is now valuable chiefly as a memorial of his missionary zeal and his literary perseverance. Since China has been "opened to Christian Missions" more than sixty Protestant missionaries, and two Protestant bishops, the one English, the other American, have been planted on the sea coast of that empire. They have enjoyed the most eminent facilities for acquiring a complete knowledge of the language, by access to the rich treasures of Chinese literature, and intercourse with the literati of a country where letters alone are the passport to political distinction; and their Biblical labours have necessarily superseded those of the first pioneer. But they will not be backward to acknowledge the merits of the man who preceded them in their pious labours, and who, while encumbered with numerous engagements and anxieties, devoted his time and energies to the prosecution of an object of which the only reward was the consciousness of having performed what was considered a duty. At this distance of time, however, and on an impartial review of the circumstances and wants of the Serampore Mission, the appropriation of Mr. Marshman's strength to a distant object of doubtful expediency cannot be regarded without some feeling of regret.

In May, of the year under review, the Rev. Henry Martyn arrived in Calcutta as a military chaplain on the Bengal establishment. He was selected for the appointment by Mr. Charles Grant. His deep The Rev. Henry Martyn. personal piety, and his zealous exertions in the cause of Christian benevolence, during the five years in which he resided in the country, have rendered his name familiar to Christians on both sides the Atlantic, and at the end of forty-five years his memory is still embalmed in the affections of the Christian public. Immediately after his arrival he found his way to the congenial associations of Serampore, where he took up his residence with Mr. Brown, and maintained a constant intercourse with the

Serampore missionaries. In alluding to this subject, Mr. Carey observes in one of his letters: "A young clergyman, Mr. Martyn, is lately arrived, who is possessed of a truly missionary spirit. He lives at present with Mr. Brown, and as the image or shadow of bigotry is not known among us here, we take sweet counsel together, and go to the house of God as friends." A strong feeling of sympathy drew him into a close intimacy with Mr. Marshman, and they might be often seen walking arm-in-arm, for hours together, on the banks of the river between Aldeen House and the Mission House. After Mr. Martyn had joined the military station of Dinapore, to which he was subsequently appointed, he continued to maintain a correspondence with his friend at Serampore, whom he always addressed as his "dear brother." At the southern extremity of Mr. Brown's extensive grounds there stood a large and massy temple, erected more than a century before for a celebrated image of Radha-bullub, one of the most popular of the Hindoo gods, but the encroachment of the river had constrained the proprietors of the idol to remove it to a safer locality, where a more spacious temple was erected as an act of merit, by a native in Calcutta, whose family had risen to opulence in the Company's service. The Hindoos are not in the habit of consecrating their religious edifices. The priests pronounce certain holy texts over the image when it is received from the sculptor, inviting the deity to take up his residence in it, after which it becomes sacred, and the building in which it is placed is consecrated by its presence. If the image should be removed, the building loses its sanctity, and may be used for ordinary purposes without the guilt of desecration. This abandoned temple of the god was included in Mr. Brown's purchase of the ground at Aldeen, and he fitted it up as a Christian sanctuary, and on Sunday, the 26th January, consecrated it by a prayer-meeting to the service of the living and true God, whose praises now resounded through the arches which had so long echoed

the pæans of the idol. In the present day, when the points of sectarian distinction in India are no longer softened down by Christian charity, and the Churchman and Dissenter seldom meet without feelings of exclusiveness on the one part and repugnance on the other, it is delightful to look back on a period in the religious history of India, before the establishment of a bishopric, when they met each other with affectionate cordiality on the broad ground of Christian principles. In that Pagoda, which is yet the first object which meets the eye in sailing up from Calcutta towards Serampore, every denominational feeling was forgotten, and Carey, Marshman, and Ward, joined in the same chorus of praise with Brown, Martyn, and Corrie.

The anxiety of Mr. Carey and his associates to distribute their missionary strength over the country, and to form subordinate stations in the interior, became daily more earnest. But it was doubtful whether such a scheme was practicable after the departure of Lord Wellesley and the development of a feeling of hostility to missions. Not a few indications of the existence of this feeling were now presented. On the 9th of September, of the preceding year, Mr. Moore and Mr. William Carey, junior, proceeded on a missionary tour, for the first time, through the districts lying to the east of Bengal, as far as Dacca. In the course of their journey they stopped at many villages conversing with the natives and distributing pamphlets. For the first seventy miles they found that the people had already seen the tracts, or heard of the "new way," but beyond that distance their message was novel and strange, though it was received with evident interest. On reaching Dacca, they began to preach and circulate tracts. The people thronged to their boats by hundreds, and they were obliged to push off from the shore, but the crowd pressed through the water, and in the course of an hour and a half, more than 4000 tracts had been given away. The next morning they went into the heart of the city and commenced their labours, but

Obstacle to the
formation of out-
stations.

were stopped by an order from the magistrate, who sent for them and demanded their passports, and finding that they had none to show, inquired whether they were aware of the consequence of a European's travelling without one. The magistrate was now joined by the collector, and they united in affirming that the tracts had created great uneasiness in the minds of the people; the missionaries were therefore commanded to desist from the work and leave the city, an order which they were constrained to respect, and they returned forthwith to Serampore. Two months after, Mr. Ward went to Jessore to procure land for the formation of a missionary station. He was treated with much courtesy by the judge, who accommodated him with the use of one of the side-rooms of the Sessions House; but he manifested no interest in the missionary cause, and thought the Hindoo religion very innocent, and Mahomedanism so much like Christianity, that there was little to choose between them. Mr. Ward was advised that the missionaries should in the first instance apply to Government for leave to settle at the station, but he replied that such an application was more likely to procure a special refusal than a special license. The other European officers of the station were unwilling that missionary labours should be brought so near them, lest the public tranquillity and their own ease should be disturbed. Mr. Ward was enabled at length to fix on a spot which was sufficiently near the Courts to afford the missionary the protection of the public official authorities, but not too close to their residence to offend their sensitiveness. But when he was upon the point of concluding the bargain, he was informed that the agreement to be valid must be registered at the collectorate, and the collector refused to register it till permission had been obtained from Government for a missionary to reside in the district. Mr. Ward was therefore obliged to return to Serampore without having accomplished his object.

Mr. Ward found, on his return, that his brethren had

been earnestly discussing the plan of forming out-stations, for the organisation of which Mr. Marshman had just drawn up a series of rules,—and that they were determined no longer to postpone their request to Government for a general license to itinerate in the country and to form stations, and if that was refused, for a license renewable from year to year. After the obstacles which had been met with at Jessore and Dacca, they could not fail to perceive how extremely difficult it would be to establish a mission in the interior, without such sanction. The Governor-General, Sir George Barlow, had proceeded to the north-west provinces immediately on succeeding to the office, leaving the administration in Calcutta in the hands of Mr. Carey's old friend, Mr. Udny. Mr. Carey had, in the previous year, placed in the hands of Mr. Udny, a statement of their wishes on this subject, from which the following are extracts:—

“Our ultimate plan is to settle missionary stations throughout Bengal and Orissa, and in several parts of Hindoostan Proper. These stations to be at the distance of 100 or 150 miles from each other, and to be managed by a European missionary. Surrounding each of these as a centre, we wish to settle seven or eight native preachers, or catechists, at proper distances from each other, who will be under the management and control of the European minister. The places at which we desire to settle missionaries are at or near to Cawnpore, Benares, Dinagepore, Goalpara, Chittagong, Jessore, Cutwa, Dacca, and Juggernath. At present we are only able to occupy three of the above stations, viz.: Dinagepore, Cutwa, and Jessore. To each of these places we wish to send a person immediately. For the support of these stations, it is desirable to connect with them some small line of business suited to the place. A school would be preferred in the vicinity of a military station; a small manufactory of indigo, anotta, or a little trade in cloth, would be desirable in other situations. If, however, this should be thought improper, we will endeavour to support them from another fund.

“We wish for no privileges or exemptions, but merely for leave to settle, preach the Gospel, and distribute Bibles, or other religious tracts, among the natives, without molestation or pro-

hibition from the magistrate of the district; and for a general license to itinerate for this purpose in any part of the British dominions in India. The latter of these privileges is peculiarly desirable, if it should be thought improper to grant the first. It is our desire to be subject to the laws of the country in every respect; and we shall esteem it a duty to teach the people their obligations to obey magistrates, and pay all respects to the government under which they live. As Hindoo and Mussulman teachers, and the ministers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, have full liberty to settle, and to propagate their sentiments in every place, we hope that the same liberty will be granted to a society of Protestants."

Mr. Carey now pressed the subject anew on Mr. Udny's attention, stating that the sanction of Government appeared more indispensable than ever. The plan was entirely in accordance with Mr. Udny's own benevolent views, and he engaged to send it without delay to Sir George Barlow with his own recommendation. Sir George, on his return to the Presidency, stated that he was personally favourable to missionary exertions, but that he had not the power to authorise missionary establishments in the country, and could not act in opposition to the known sentiments of the Court of Directors. This decision Mr. Udny communicated with great regret to Mr. Carey, who stated in reply, that however great might be the respect of the missionaries for the wishes of Government, "they *must* form stations," and that, without the consent of Government, if they were unable to obtain it, and that they were prepared to take the risk of the consequences on themselves. They determined, therefore, without further hesitation, to send Mr. Felix Carey and Mr. Rowe to Benares, Mr. Mardon to Juggernath, and Mr. Biss to Dinagepore. They also fixed upon Patna for another station; but, hearing that Mr. Martyn was about to be placed in the neighbourhood as chaplain, they relinquished their intention, and in their communication to Mr. Fuller on the subject, stated that "wherever Mr. Martyn may be placed, he will save us the expense of a missionary."

Mr. Mardon, whose ulterior destination was in Orissa, was intermediately sent to Malda, the scene of Mr. Carey's early labours, where a small colony of warm-hearted Christians, Ellerton, Creighton, W. Grant, and others, employed in the cultivation of indigo, were endeavouring to sow the seeds of Christian knowledge by the establishment of schools. At Malda, there was, happily, no "Civil station," no collector, magistrate, or judge to ask awkward questions. The only public functionary was the Commercial Resident, whose sole occupation was to provide "the Europe investment;" and it was no business of his to inquire whether any peaceful European in his vicinity was possessed of a license or not. Mr. Biss was sent to Dinapore, at a venture, without passport or license, in company with Mr. Moore. "Everything," writes Mr. Ward, "in this case, depends on the Judge of Dinapore; if he should be mute, everything will be favourable." The judge was the well-known Mr. James Pattle, who never was disposed to be mute on any occasion in life. As soon as he heard of the arrival of the missionaries, he sent to demand whether they had the authority of Government to proceed into the interior of the country "to circulate religious writings translated into the native languages;" and finding that they were without such legal sanction, informed them that they must return forthwith to Serampore, but might remain at the station, pending a reference to the Council Chamber, if Mr. Fernandez would become responsible for them. They well knew that if the circumstance of their travelling without a license was officially reported, coupled with a reference to their missionary vocation, they must, by the standing rules of Government, be ordered to quit the district. The Europeans who were established in the interior without licenses, were generally left unmolested, because they were supposed, in the cant phrase of the day, to possess the tacit permission of Government; but when any of the district authorities thought fit to "name" them, their position immediately

became precarious. Mr. Biss and Mr. Moore, therefore, returned to Serampore, hoping that interest might be made with Government; but they found that new difficulties had in the meantime arisen which effectually destroyed that hope. Krishnu-persad, the first Brahmin convert baptized at Serampore, who had accompanied the party towards Dinagepore, died at Berhampore, and was interred in the public burial ground. He was a youth of the most amiable character, and enjoyed the esteem and affection of all who were acquainted with him. His walk and conversation were always consistent with his profession, and he became an ornament to the cause he had embraced. He possessed a clear intellect and great fluency of speech, and was among the most acceptable and promising of the native preachers. The report of his death created a feeling of deep regret at Serampore, and the native congregation was melted to tears when Mr. Ward, in the funeral sermon which he preached on the occasion, drew a picture of his exemplary life, and the loveliness of his character.

In April, 1806, the Supreme Council passed the first law by which the celebrated shrine of Juggernath became identified with the State. The province of Orissa was conquered from the Mahrattas in October, 1803, and Mr. Melville, a senior member of the Civil Service, was sent to administer it as Commissioner. On his arrival, the priests of the temple, anxious to secure his favour, assured him that the success of the British arms had been facilitated in no small degree by the favour of the god. They affirmed that the night before the army approached Pooree, the priests entered the presence of Juggernath, and inquired under whose protection he wished in future to dwell, the Mahrattas or the English, and the god signified his desire to receive British protection. This tale, told with all gravity and confidence, was considered so satisfactory by Mr. Melville, that he despatched an express messenger to Calcutta to announce it. Lord Wellesley had understood that the priesthood derived a considerable revenue from

the tax imposed on pilgrims, and he directed that the system which existed for the collection of the tax or duty should for the present remain untouched; but he strictly forbade Mr. Melville to contract any engagements which might fetter the British Government in dealing with the temple as might afterwards appear necessary. But, the rapacity of the brahmins, as officially reported, was so outrageous, and the disturbances created by it were so detrimental to the peace of the district, that the abolition of the tax was imperatively required. The priests then requested the commissioner to disburse the sums necessary for the establishment of the idol from the public funds, as the former governments had done, and these payments were accordingly made from the public treasury. But the brahmins were apprehensive lest these disbursements should be discontinued if the temple itself contributed nothing towards them, and, in the hope of giving a permanent character to these donations, prevailed on the British authorities to reimpose the tax. Lord Wellesley never entertained any idea of associating his government with the superstitions of the temple, but he was not displeased to find the priests of their own accord propose a plan by which the treasury might be relieved from a heavy annual charge.

Before Lord Wellesley quitted the government in 1805, the draft of a regulation was brought forward in Council for vesting the superintendence of the temple of Juggernath in British officers, and increasing the pilgrim tax; but he refused his sanction to a project, the effect of which would have been to identify a Christian Government with a heathen shrine, and he left India without passing the law. It was brought forward again the next year, during the administration of Sir George Barlow, when it was resisted by a vigorous protest on the part of Mr. Udny. His colleagues in Council, however, considered the idol a legitimate source of gain. Mr. Buchanan, from whose narrative

First connection
of Government
with Juggernath.

these facts are derived, states in defence of these gentlemen, with all of whom he was on terms of intimacy, that they "were men of the most honourable principles and unimpeached integrity, not one of whom would do anything which he thought injurious to the honour or religion of his country." But "those who go to India in early youth, and witness the Hindoo customs all their life, and see little at the same time of the Christian religion to counteract the effect, are disposed to view them with complacency, and are sometimes in danger of at length considering them as proper or necessary;" to use the expression of Sir James Mackintosh, they become completely "brahminised." The regulation was passed in April, 1806, and sent to England, where it encountered a strong opposition in the Court of Directors, who, though inimical to all missionary efforts, could not sanction this outrageous determination on the part of their servants in India, to mix up the Company with the management of a temple, in which several hundred courtesans were entertained, and to pollute its exchequer by the proceeds of a tax connected with the most debasing superstition. In reply to the letter from Calcutta, they communicated their desire to modify the Act; they were prepared to permit certain officers of the temple to collect their fees directly from the pilgrims, agreeably to former usage, instead of receiving the amount of those fees from the public treasury; to allow the pundits who were to superintend the affairs of the temple to be elected by particular classes attached to it, instead of being appointed by the Government, and to vest in the pundits so elected the entire control over the temple and its ministers and officers, as well as over the funds allotted for its expenses, restricting the interference of the officers of Government to the preservation of the peace of the town and its neighbourhood, to the protection of pilgrims from oppression and extortion, and to the collection of the tax to be levied for this exclusive object.

The annual disputations at the college were held in March, 1806, under circumstances which served to mark the feelings of the time. Lord Wellesley, though he does not appear to have contemplated any effort for the education of the natives, never failed to express his desire to extend the blessings of civilisation to them. Some of the leading members of Government, however, believed, doubtless from sincere and conscientious motives, that any attempt to improve and elevate the native mind would impair the stability of the empire; much interest was therefore felt as to the sentiments the new Governor-General might express on the subject on this public occasion. Mr. Buchanan, who had furnished him with notes for his speech, stated in a letter to Mr. Charles Grant that much depended on its complexion, and that many were waiting the result with great solicitude; that if the Governor-General admitted the word "civilisation" into his speech this year, we might expect to hear the word "religion" in the next. In this age of liberality and progress, it appears difficult to credit the existence of a period in the history of British India when the chief of the Government could not allude to the "civilisation" of the natives without creating alarm among the most influential of its servants. He did, however, introduce this hazardous expression, but with characteristic caution. He said that "the numerous works which had been published under the auspices of the college in the last six years. . . might be expected gradually to diffuse among the body of our Indian subjects a spirit of civilisation, and an improved sense of the genuine principles of morality and virtue." But, before the next annual examination, the mutiny of Vellore broke out, and spread dismay among the members of Government, and every idea of civilising the natives was dropped.—On the 2nd of June the missionaries were presented with four hundred copies of the Hindoostanee Gospels, which Lord Wellesley had directed to be printed at the expense of Government, under the auspices

The question of Indian civilisation under Sir G. Barlow.

of the college. Soon after, the first sheet of the Sanscrit New Testament was printed off at Serampore, with the new fount of Nagree types which had been three years in preparation. Mr. Ward was particularly solicitous that this work should be urged forward with all diligence. He argued that a faithful translation of the Scriptures into this language, the great parent of all the vernacular languages of India, would facilitate other translations, since the pundits in every part of India were acquainted with this classical tongue, and might be expected to make a good version from it with ease into their own languages. The liberal subscriptions which had been raised in Calcutta, encouraged the missionaries to prosecute their biblical labours with increased zeal. In addition to the Sanscrit, they put to press the Mahratta, the Ooriya, the Persian, and the Hindoostanee versions. Hand in hand with these evangelical labours, their literary undertakings were pushed forward with undiminished ardour. The Sanscrit Grammar, on which Mr. Carey had been engaged for several years was completed and published, with a complimentary address to Lord Wellesley. The first volume of the translation of the Ramayun was also finished at this time. It was a faithful version of the most renowned Epic in India, but it was destitute of the poetic glow of the original. A prose translation of any great poem must necessarily be tame, but in the case of the Ramayun, the translators were fettered by the juxtaposition of the text printed in the same page, and they were obliged to give an exact and literal rendering of the expressions of the original, in which little of its spirit could be retained. For the time, it was a useful undertaking; it was the first publication from which the English public was enabled to form any idea of the general character of Sanscrit poetry. But the work was never completed. After the publication of three quarto volumes the further prosecution of it was

Translation of
the Sanscrit
Testament;

and of the Ra-
mayun.

abandoned, and for the first complete translation of the Ramayun in any European language, the world has been indebted to Gorresio, an Italian scholar, whose edition of the original text, printed at the Government press in Paris, is, perhaps, the most splendid specimen of Nagree typography ever presented to the literary world, and whose Italian translation of the Epic, has attracted general admiration. At the same time, Mr. Ward put to press the first volume of his work on the habits, manners, and religion of the Hindoos, for which he had been making researches, and collecting materials since his arrival in India. It had the benefit of a revision by Mr. Martyn, while he resided at Aldeen.

The plan which had been for some time under consideration at Serampore, of sending native itinerants into various parts of the country, was now reduced to a distinct form. In the beginning of August, a meeting of all the missionaries and converts was held at the Mission House, when the following proposal was discussed and adopted:—That it is the indispensable duty of the native brethren, both individually and collectively, to strive, by all the means in their power, to communicate divine truth to their fellow-countrymen; that those who are thus employed ought to be supported, and that it is as much the province of the Church to provide for their maintenance while thus engaged, as for the support of its own poor. It was proposed, in every case, to send two itinerants together, one a man of years, steadiness, and ability; the other a younger convert, who should “carry papers, and cook for both,” and be gradually initiated into the work by occasionally addressing the heathen. The missionaries were anxious on this, and on all occasions, that the itinerants should retain the simplicity of their national character and habits. A committee was formed, at Serampore to superintend and direct the labours of the itinerants, and the three senior missionaries were requested to preside over it. They nominated twelve of the most

active and intelligent of the converts to the work, of whom some were already engaged in the field in different parts of the country.

Of the sum which had been in 1805 collected for the erection of a chapel in Calcutta, 7250 rs. were expended, in

Native preaching
in Calcutta.

March 1806, in the purchase of the ground. It was situated in the Bow Bazar, in the hotbed of vice and immorality, surrounded by liquor shops and brothels, the haunt of sailors who disgraced their European name and Christian character by every excess. The ground was covered at the time with the abodes of prostitution, which were speedily cleared away, and a neat bungalow, or thatched house, was erected in the centre of it, which Mr. Ward opened for divine service on the 1st of June. It was the first time the Gospel had been preached to the natives of Calcutta in their vernacular tongue, in public, since Job Charnock erected the British ensign there. Crowds poured in at the gate, and filled the little bungalow and the "compound," to listen to a Christian discourse from the lips of Hindoo converts, and to see a European gentleman addressing the people. As the preachers walked through the streets, they were followed by multitudes who clapped their hands and poured a torrent of abuse on them. When Mr. Ward made his appearance—and he spoke the colloquial language with singular ease and purity—the people shouted, "That's he; that's the Hindoo padre; why dost thou destroy the caste of the people?" On the third Sunday after the bungalow had been opened for service, the appearance of Rammohun, a converted brahmin, exhorting his countrymen to embrace a foreign religion, created a greater sensation than usual; and as he retired from the place, he was overwhelmed with vituperation: one man came up to him and exclaimed, "O vagabond! why didst thou not come to my house; I would have given thee a handful of rice rather than that thou shouldst have become a feringee." Amidst all this excitement, there was no tumult and no disturbance. The interest which

was thus created in the native community, by the preaching in the Bow Bazar, filled the missionaries with delight; and at no period since the establishment of the Mission do they appear to have felt greater animation in their work. To add to their joy, Captain Wickes, in the "Criterion," anchored off Calcutta, on the 23rd of August, with two additional missionaries, the Rev. John Chater and William Robinson. The next day, Sunday, is described in Mr. Ward's journal as a "memorable" day in Calcutta. At ten in the forenoon, he addressed a large and attentive audience in the Bow Bazar, for the excitement had now subsided. At one, he went to Chitpore Road, where some Armenians had opened a house for divine service in the Bengalee language, which they understood more readily than English. The room, the "compound," and the street were crowded. After preaching with great animation, and partaking of some refreshment, he again proceeded to the Bow Bazar, and addressed another congregation. On taking leave of his Armenian and other friends, he remarked that this Sabbath had been one of the happiest days of his life, and that he hoped to spend many such in Calcutta. He little thought that this was the last Sunday he would thus be permitted to enjoy for a long time to come. The opposition of Government had already begun.

Arrival of Mr.
Chater and Mr.
Robinson.

The following day, Monday, Captain Wickes delivered in a list of his passengers at the Police Office, corresponding with that which had been furnished by the pilot, and was informed that Government had issued orders for Mr. Chater and Mr. Robinson not to leave Calcutta without permission. The next day, Mr. Carey went to the office to inquire the cause of this unusual detention, when Mr. Blacquiere, the magistrate, informed him that he had a message to deliver him from Sir George Barlow, and that he had called at his lodgings twice or thrice during the previous week, but could not meet with him. The purport of the message was, that as

Opposition of
Government.

the Governor-General did not interfere with the prejudices of the natives, he required Mr. Carey and his associates to abstain likewise from any interference with them. Mr. Carey requested an explanation of this rather enigmatical prohibition, and the magistrate explained it, to signify that the missionaries were not to preach to the natives, or allow their converts to preach; they were not to distribute pamphlets themselves, or permit others to circulate them; they were not to send forth converted natives as preachers, or, indeed, to take any step, by conversation or otherwise, to induce the natives to embrace Christianity. Mr. Carey left the office with the dry remark, that it was not the desire of the missionaries to do anything disagreeable to Government. This proceeding filled him and his colleagues with anxiety; but it more particularly affected Mr. Ward, who had been exulting in the new prospects of usefulness in Calcutta. "To shut up the Bow Bazar preaching station," he writes, "is a cutting measure, and it has taken away all my desire to visit Calcutta." In writing to the Society on the first blush of the affair, the missionaries say, "It is difficult for us to ascertain the present path of duty. We are in much the same situation as the apostles were, when commanded not to preach in His name. They, it is true, replied, 'whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you rather than God, judge ye.' Would it be right for us to make the same reply in the first instance? To act in open defiance of the will of the Governor-General might occasion a positive law against evangelising the heathen, and at once break up the Mission, which has been settled at so great an expense. On the other hand, if we yield a little to the present storm, it may soon blow over, and we may not only preserve our present privileges, but obtain the liberty which we have so long wished for." With the advice of their best friends, they resolved to bend to the storm, but on no account to give up their determination to establish mission stations in the country on the first opportunity.

In this letter, they state that they were utterly unable to account for this sudden and adverse change in the disposition of Government. It was only a few months previously to this event, that Sir George Barlow had, on a public occasion, spoken with approbation of the "Society of Missionaries at Serampore." But the storm had been gathering since the departure of Lord Wellesley. The boldness with which Mr. Carey had avowed his vocation as a missionary, before the assembled greatness of Calcutta, had roused the animosity of those who were averse to Christianity and its propagation, and it had not been forgotten or forgiven. The appeal which the missionaries had made on behalf of the translations, had excited the alarm of the higher members of Government, and it was determined to seize the first plausible occasion which might be presented, to put a stop to their proceedings. That occasion was now afforded by the **MUTINY AT VELLORE.**

On the subversion of the throne of Tippoo Sultan, in 1799, the various branches of his family were pensioned, and sent to reside at Vellore. This fortress, ^{The Vellore Mutiny.} which was seventy miles from Madras, was, however, only forty miles from the Mysore frontier, and it would, perhaps, have been difficult to select a more objectionable place for the residence of these dethroned princes. The Court of Directors did not fail to perceive the impolicy of the selection, and recommended their removal to Bengal; but the advice was, unhappily, disregarded. Vellore gradually became the focus of intrigues against the British Government. More than three thousand of the old subjects of Tippoo had settled in the town, and the servants and retainers of his family numbered eighteen hundred. All these men, together with the disaffected Mahomedans in the town and neighbourhood, were systematically engaged in attempts to corrupt the fidelity of the native soldiery, and excite a revolt, with a view to accomplish the restoration

of the dethroned dynasty. On the departure of Lord Wellesley, whom all the native princes regarded with a feeling of inexpressible dread, they pushed their machinations with increased vigour and confidence. It was at this time, that the Madras commander-in-chief, Sir John Craddock, proposed to the Government of the Presidency a consolidation of the code of military regulations for the army, which had long been needed. The proposition was accepted, and the task intrusted to Major Pearce, the deputy adjutant-general. The governor, Lord William Bentinck, gave his consent to the undertaking, on the distinct assurance that it should be strictly limited to a codification of the various orders in force, which had already received the sanction of the public authorities, and positively enjoined that no additional rule should be introduced without the direct consent of Government. Unfortunately, a new order, previously unknown, was foisted into the code, without any communication with Lord William Bentinck, who was ignorant of its existence till it had created a rebellion. There is every reason to believe that this act, which cost five hundred lives, was, after all, the result of inadvertence. The purport of the order was that the sepoys, when on parade, should appear with their chins shaved, and the moustache cut after a particular form; that they should wear no distinguishing marks of caste, and adopt a turban of a new pattern. It was the order regarding the turban which more particularly affected and disgusted the Mahomedans, because the turban bore some resemblance to an English hat, which was considered the most distinguishing symbol of European habits, and was, consequently, offensive to the feelings of the natives, both Hindoos and Mahomedans. It is singular, that even among the Hindoos who had adopted the Mahomedan dress, and were proud to appear in the Mahomedan turban, the general term of contempt for an Englishman was, "that he wore a hat." These orders created an uneasy feeling among the sepoys; but the

Government was lulled to security by the assurance of the military commandants, at various stations, that the opposition was merely transient, while, in fact, the conspiracy was making rapid though unobserved progress. The emissaries of Tippoo's family spared no exertion to fan the flames of discontent into rebellion. The most extravagant and atrocious reports were spread regarding the designs of Government against the religion of the sepoys. Fanatical mendicants prowled about, sowing the seeds of mutiny, and representing that the new turban was only the first movement of an organised plan for forcing Christianity on the sepoys and the people. When the conspiracy had been fully matured, chiefly, however, among the Mahomedans in the corps stationed at Vellore, the sepoys suddenly rose on the European garrison, when asleep and unarmed, at two in the morning of the 10th of July, 1806, and massacred Colonel Fancourt and thirteen other officers, and ninety-nine commissioned officers and privates; fifteen others subsequently died of their wounds. The officers and men, thus taken by surprise, were shot down with little resistance. A small body of the survivors established themselves on the ramparts of the fortress, and maintained a desperate struggle with the mutineers, till Colonel Gillespie, to whom information was instantly conveyed of the mutiny, rode up in haste from Arcot with reinforcements, not drawing in rein till he had reached Vellore, sixteen miles distant, when the insurgents were attacked with fury, and the revolt was quenched in the blood of three hundred and fifty of them.

No event since the establishment of the British empire in the East produced so profound a sensation and a feeling of such deep alarm, both in England and India, as this massacre of British officers and soldiers by the native sepoys. It created the painful conviction that no dependence could any longer be placed on their fidelity, and that any mutiny among them would be marked by the greatest atrocities. The cause of this out-

Causes of the
Vellore Mutiny.

break was therefore scrutinised with anxious care; but, unhappily, it was turned into a party question, and became obscured by the mists of partisanship. The anti-missionary party, which was never so strong either in England or in India as at this period, affirmed that the alarm and the massacre were to be traced to missionary labours, and that to preserve the lives of the thirty thousand Europeans in India it was necessary to recall all the missionaries who were there, and to prevent the resort of others to that country. This feeling was exhibited in a war of pamphlets in England, and in a crusade against the Serampore missionaries in India. This view of the question was distinctly repudiated by Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, Lord William Bentinck, and many others of equal eminence. Major Scott Waring, the leader of the opposition to Missions in England, stated that the alarm had been created on the coast, not by foreign, but by English missionaries; but there were no English missionaries in the Madras Presidency. All the missionaries in the South were foreigners from the continent of Europe, and their efforts were associated with the name of Schwartz, who had been held in the highest estimation by Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, and distinguished by their favour. The natives of the Madras Presidency had, moreover, been accustomed to their labours for an entire century. Neither was it at all probable that the report of the missionary exertions at Serampore during the previous six years, even if it had ever reached the Madras sepoy, would have been regarded as a sufficient cause of mutiny. The attempt to charge the calamity at Vellore on the cause of Missions was soon relinquished. It was made with the view of preventing the resort of missionaries to India, and was therefore finally abandoned when Parliament, in 1813, granted them permission to proceed to it.

There can, however, be no doubt that the mutiny was

intimately connected with the impression created in the minds of the troops, that Government had formed the design of forcing them to become Christians. The mere change in the form of the turban, at any other period or under other circumstances, would not have been sufficient to produce such an effect. But it was established by the committee of inquiry, which sat at Vellore, that the emissaries of the sons of Tippoo had long employed the most active measures to corrupt the fidelity of the sepoys, and to exasperate them against their European masters, and that they had continually represented to the sepoys that every part of their dress and their discipline constituted emblems of the religion of the Europeans, and was intended to facilitate its introduction. In these circumstances, the change which was ordered in the form of the turban was a godsend to the Mahomedan conspirators, and they did not fail to represent it as the exponent of a determined effort to destroy the caste of the sepoys and force a foreign creed upon them. Any other measure of the British Government, which, by dint of misrepresentation, could have been used to exasperate the sepoys, would have been equally turned to account. The sepoys had long been prepared to throw off their allegiance to their own Government, and the turban order was the spark which caused the explosion. When a body is in a state of inflammation, the slightest puncture will fester. That the revolt was a political movement under a religious pretence was established beyond controversy by the first proceedings of the mutineers. An old flag which had belonged to Tippoo, and bore his insignia, was hoisted on the ramparts, and the sepoys at once announced their adherence to the royal family of Tippoo. Since the days of Aurungzebe, no Mahomedan sovereign had proscribed and persecuted the Hindoo creed as that prince had done. If the movement had been simply based on religious motives, it is not conceivable that Hindoo sepoys would have sought refuge from the alleged intolerance of the British

Government in the protection of a Mysore dynasty, the remembrance of whose religious oppressions was still fresh in the public mind. The conclusion drawn from the Vellore mutiny was, that missionary efforts unconnected with Government, were never likely to create any disturbance; that nothing short of a conviction that the Government intended to subvert caste, and change the religion of the sepoys by force, would create any alarm or lead to insubordination, and that Government must be cautious to avoid giving occasion for any such an impression; but that with every precaution, it could not prevent the creation of such a report by political incendiaries out of circumstances purely accidental.

Before the real cause of the mutiny was ascertained by local investigation, it was ascribed to the wanton and needless violation of the religious usages of the natives by the Madras Government, and this opinion appears to have been adopted without inquiry by the Supreme Government in Bengal and at the India House. Those who were inimical to all missionary efforts, to every innovation and every improvement, had now a pretext, too tempting to be neglected, for asserting that political danger must inevitably attend every kind of interference with the "religious prejudices" of the natives, and that there could be no security for our Indian dominions, unless we were prepared to leave the country under the perpetual and undisturbed sway of its ancient superstitions. The stream of European prejudice against Missions, thus swelled by the undefined terrors created by the mutiny, bore down all reason and moderation. The alarmists obtained an ascendancy in the Supreme Council at Calcutta, and the missionary undertaking was denounced as the inevitable forerunner of rebellion and massacre. It was under the influence of this panic, that Sir George Barlow sent in haste for the magistrates of Calcutta, and desired them to call on Mr. Carey and request that he and his colleague would immediately desist

Effect produced
on Government
by the mutiny.

from all further attempts to convert the natives. The Governor-General seemed to consider Calcutta itself unsafe, until the gates of the temporary chapel in the Bow Bazar were closed. When the report of the mutiny reached England, the Court of Directors were thrown into the most violent paroxysm of alarm for the safety of the empire, and, as usual on such occasions, the most violent counsels became the most acceptable. Without waiting for any communication from Lord William Bentinck, or any explanation of the cause of the mutiny, or the circumstances which had preceded it, after the interval of only a single week, it was proposed to recall him, "in order to vindicate," as they said, "the national respect for the religious usages of our native subjects, and to make a sacrifice to their violated rights." Lord William Bentinck was condemned unheard, and deposed from the government. On his return to England he addressed the Court in a masterly memorial, in which he remarked, that he had been condemned as an accomplice in measures with which he had no further concern than to obviate all their ill consequences; and he asked reparation for the grievous injury which had been inflicted on his character and feelings. By this time, the real origin of the mutiny was fully understood, and the Court acknowledged that the orders which were the ostensible cause of that catastrophe did not, in reality, infringe the religious tenets of the natives, though the uninformed sepoys had been induced to believe that they did; that the crisis was not produced by any intended or actual violation of caste, and that they were now convinced that Lord William Bentinck had no share in originating the orders, which, for a time, wore that character. They bore ample testimony to the uprightness, disinterestedness, zeal, respect for the "system of the Company," — a side blow at Lord Wellesley's insubordination—and in many instances, success with which he had acted in the government of Madras. But they could not grant the reparation he sought, because, "as

the misfortunes which happened in his administration placed his fate under the government of public events and opinions, which as the Court could not control, so it was not in their power to alter the effects of them." In other words, his administration had, in one solitary instance, been unfortunate, and they could not afford to be just,—an instance of political candour, or political cowardice, almost without a parallel.

The restrictions which were placed on the movements of the Serampore missionaries, in consequence of the Vellore panic, fell little short of an entire prohibition of their labours beyond the limits of the Danish settlement, and they left no stone unturned to obtain the removal, or, at least, the relaxation of these orders. Mr. Brown interested himself with such zeal and affection on their behalf, as to insure "their most grateful remembrance." After various efforts he succeeded in softening the opposition of Sir George Barlow, whose ultimatum was embodied in the following items: — "1. The missionaries remain at Serampore, to act with full power as they choose. 2. There is no objection to their circulating the Scriptures. 3. There is no objection to their preaching in their own room in Cossitollah Street, or in the house of any other person, provided they do not preach openly in the Bow Bazar. 4. Natives may teach and preach wherever they please, provided they be not sent forth as emissaries from Serampore. There will be no objection to their exercising in the Bow Bazar, or anywhere else, when they can procure permission from the Court of Directors, or from the British Government." In delivering this note, as the final decision of Government, the magistrates assured Mr. Brown that they had never received any complaints against the Serampore missionaries, nor had they ever heard that any representation had been made to Government to their disadvantage by any class of natives. It now became evident, that no hope could be entertained of more favourable terms from Government, at least until

Restrictions on
the Serampore
Missionaries.

the fever of alarm had subsided; and as the missionaries could not employ a single itinerant beyond the limits of Serampore, without contravening these orders, their operations were brought to a dead lock, and they determined, through the medium of the Society, to move the public authorities in England for permission to itinerate through the country, and to establish stations. Mr. Ward, in his private letter to Mr. Fuller, says, "If we could but obtain leave to itinerate ourselves, and fix stations in different parts of India, we should care for nothing else in this world."

The result of this reference to England will be presently narrated; and we turn to the proceedings against the missionaries who had recently arrived — Mr. Chater and Mr. Robinson. After they had been detained four days in Calcutta, by the orders of Government, Mr. Carey called at the Police-office; and sent up to Mr. Blacquiere to inquire whether Government wished them to remain any longer in the town. To this the magistrate sent the contemptuous reply, that if any of Mr. Carey's friends were in confinement, he must apply for their release to another magistrate; on which Mr. Carey, without further hesitation, conveyed them and their families to Serampore. The next day, they were introduced to the governor, Colonel Krefting, and received under the protection of the Crown of Denmark. At the same time Mr. Dowdeswell, the superintendent of police in the lower provinces, an officer of great ability and influence, but, unhappily, prejudiced against the missionary enterprise, directed the magistrates of Calcutta to report officially to Government, that two missionaries had arrived in the country without a licence from the Court of Directors. This report was laid before the Council Board, in the height of the Vellore panic, and immediately after Government had silenced the Serampore missionaries, and Sir George Barlow, as might have been expected, issued orders for them to leave the country without delay. Mr. Carey called on his friend Mr. Udny, and entreated him to use

Proceedings
against Mr. Cha-
ter and Mr. Ro-
binson.

his good offices in Council; but he replied, that such was the strength of prejudice and alarm at the moment, that he feared it would be impossible to avert the execution of the order. He said that scores of Europeans were in the habit of resorting to Calcutta without any licence, some of whom never reported themselves at the Police-office, while others simply left their names there; but as no report was officially made to Government on the subject, they remained unnoticed and unmolested. The two missionaries, however, had now been formally denounced to the Supreme Council as unlicensed persons, and the Council had no option but to carry into effect the standing orders of the Court, and insist on their return. He suggested, however, that this calamity might possibly be averted if the captain were to take his vessel up to Serampore; but Colonel Krefling, the governor, said that it was now too late for him to adopt this course, and that it ought to have been taken in the first instance; but Captain Wickes replied, that this had been rendered impossible by the orders he had officially received to land his passengers in Calcutta, when it was surmised that they were missionaries.

On the 11th of September, Mr. Chater and Mr. Robinson were summoned to the Police-office in Calcutta, and informed by Mr. Martyn, one of the magistrates, that as they had come to India without the permission of the Hon. the Court of Directors, the Supreme Government had thought fit to order them to return to England. Mr. Marshman, who accompanied them, replied that they had come out to reside at Serampore, and that it would have been anomalous to apply to the Court of Directors for permission to proceed to a foreign settlement. The magistrate appeared to be startled at this information, and advised that it should be put in writing. The captain was, at the same time, distinctly given to understand, that he could not obtain a port clearance except on condition of conveying them back. In this difficult position a cabinet council was held at Aldeen,

Further proceeding regarding Mr. Chater and Mr. Robinson.

when the circumstances were discussed, and it was agreed that Mr. Brown, who possessed great influence in the official circle in Calcutta, should call on Mr. Martyn, the magistrate, and ascertain by what means the exigency could be met. Mr. Martyn appeared friendly, and expressed his surprise that Government should single out two missionaries for deportation amidst the numerous Europeans who came out unlicensed every year; but he attributed the determination to the report which had been made to the Council, under the express injunctions of Mr. Dowdeswell. Mr. Brown assured Mr. Martyn, as Mr. Marshman had done before, that the missionaries were under the protection of the Danish flag, and were not, therefore, amenable to the British authorities. Mr. Martyn said that Government was probably unaware of this circumstance, and he desired that it might be officially communicated to him. Three letters were accordingly sent to him — one from Mr. Carey and his colleagues, the other from the two missionaries who were under sentence of banishment, and the third from the Governor of Serampore — all purporting that Mr. Chater and Mr. Robinson had been received under the special protection of the King of Denmark. The letters remained without a reply for a month, and the missionaries began to hope that the storm had blown over; but, in the middle of October, Colonel Krefting received a letter from the Police-office in reference to his certificate of protection, desiring to know at whose suggestion the two missionaries had left England, and whether they had come out on the promise of protection from any individual on the part of the King of Denmark? To this insidious inquiry, the governor replied in general terms, that the King of Denmark had issued instructions to his servants at Serampore, on the 5th of September, 1801, to foster the establishment of the Mission in the town, and had at the same time granted to the missionaries themselves, and their future colleagues, the fullest protection of the Danish Crown; and that the certificate he had

given to the newly-arrived missionaries was "in compliance with this high order."

This communication from a foreign chief, acting under the special orders of his own court, ought to have been conclusive with Sir George Barlow, who appeared so very anxious to carry out the orders of his own masters to the letter. But there was an infatuated resolution to push the matter to extremities, and enforce the departure of the missionaries at all hazards. Colonel Krefting's letter was treated with silent contempt; and on the 1st of November, nearly ten weeks after the arrival of the missionaries, they were informed that the Government had thought fit to confirm its former orders, and Captain Wickes was again assured that his vessel would not be allowed to clear outwards, unless he undertook to re-embark the missionaries. The Serampore missionaries, perceiving the inveteracy manifested by the Supreme Council, resolved to surrender their two brethren, rather than detain the "Criterion" any longer, while, at the same time, they made one final effort to save them from deportation, by proposing to send them out of the country, to the territory of some foreign prince. On the 3rd of November, Captain Wickes again went to the Police-office in company with Mr. Brown, when the magistrate read over the whole of the correspondence which had passed on the subject, and concluded by stating the final orders he had received, that the missionaries were to leave India, or the vessel would be detained. The captain stated that Mrs. Chater was near her confinement, and he had no surgeon on board, that the refusal of a port clearance to an American vessel, because the commander would not engage to take back two individuals who were at the time under the protection of a foreign flag, and beyond his control, would not fail to be represented by his owners to the government at Washington, and might become the subject of a serious remonstrance with the cabinet of England. He also stated that the forcible abstraction of

the two missionaries from Serampore, after they had received the special protection of the Danish Crown, would involve an irritating discussion between the courts of London and Copenhagen; but he added, that he and the missionaries were anxious to avoid whatever might tend to interrupt the peace and amity of nations, and that the missionaries were particularly anxious to retain the goodwill of the British authorities, which was so necessary to the successful prosecution of their work. At the same time, Mr. Brown offered to become personally responsible that the missionaries should comply with whatever might be the ultimate decision of Government. The British authorities evidently perceived that they incurred a serious responsibility by the course they were pursuing, and that a remonstrance from two foreign courts would be regarded by their honourable masters in Leadenhall Street a far more serious consideration even than the addition of two members to the "Society of Missionaries at Serampore." After a great deal of apparent reluctance, therefore, the captain was allowed his port clearance, unconditionally. But to counterbalance this concession, a letter was written on the spot to the two missionaries, stating that they could not be permitted to remain in the country, and were required to take the earliest measures for returning to Europe, and to name the vessel in which they intended to embark, for the information of the Governor-General. Both Mr. Brown and the missionaries considered this order only as betokening a desire to back out of this disreputable proceeding with as little sacrifice of dignity as possible, and the letter remained without a reply. This transaction indicated so unfavourable a change in the views of Government, that the missionaries felt they could no longer calculate on its neutrality, more especially as the period of Mr. Udny's service in council, who was their only friend in the Government, had expired on the 6th of October. They were constrained, therefore, to turn their attention to other countries, not under the British flag, where they might

hope for that protection from barbarian governments which was refused them by the Christian rulers of India. Within three months of this period, Mr. Chater was on his way to Rangoon.

During these troubles, the Rev. Henry Martyn left Serampore for the station of Dinapore, to which he had been appointed chaplain. A prayer-meeting was held on the occasion in the Pagoda, and Mr. Brown and Mr. Martyn united with Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward in supplicating the divine blessing on his labours. "We have given him," writes Mr. Ward, "fifty Hindoostanee Testaments and 20,000 tracts, to begin his missionary career." Soon after, he notes that Mr. Martyn had arrived at Dinapore, and distributed tracts all the way up; that he was not ashamed of being among a crowd, and longed to be useful among the heathen; but he adds, "You must insert nothing in the Periodical Accounts regarding the chaplains, on any account whatever." Towards the close of the year, the Rev. Daniel Corrie and the Rev. Joseph Parsons, two other evangelical clergymen, who had recently arrived, were posted, the one to Benares, the other to Berhampore. On this occasion, Mr. Carey writes, "It is remarkable, that just at the time that bonds are laid on us, God should have taken the work in Hindoostan into his own hands, and sent out Mr. Martyn, Mr. Corrie, and Mr. Parsons, three evangelical chaplains, whose hearts beat in unison with our own. Two of them are appointed to stations which we had intended to occupy."

It has been stated, that when Mr. Carey and his associates had lost all hope of the removal of the restrictions laid on them by the Government in India, regarding the formation of stations in the country, they resolved to refer the question to Mr. Fuller, in the hope of obtaining a more favourable decision from the authorities at home. The result of this reference cannot be more appropriately given than in the language of Mr. Fuller himself. The extract now subjoined from his letter,

Mr. Fuller's exertions in England.

though long, will be useful in conveying a clear idea of the position of the missionary question at the India House and India Board, and of the prejudices with which the Serampore missionaries, and their noble associate in England, had to contend before the charter of freedom in 1813.

“I have been three journeys to London, from the last of which I returned but last Friday. Obtaining an interview with Mr. Charles Grant, I learned that the minds of the Directors and of the Government were strongly prejudiced by letters from individuals in India; that it would, therefore, be very improper at present to make a direct application to either for permission to itinerate and form stations; and that we had great reason to fear the sending out of an order to recall you all, or at least to prohibit you from going upon British territory. Mr. Grant was well satisfied that the whole arose from the misstatements of adversaries from India, and therefore conceived a hope that a fair and temperate statement of the truth would be the means of removing it. He therefore recommended me to draw up such a statement. Accordingly I shut myself up in London, and drew it up, and then sent it to Mr. Grant for his remarks. He suggested several corrections and additions, which I adopted. He then advised me to wait on Lord Teignmouth, who is a member of the Board of Control, and of His Majesty's Privy Council. I did so, and found him to be a most cordial friend, and willing to do any thing in his power to serve us, and to use all his influence: but he also strongly dissuaded me from making any application to Government at present, and advised that we should act merely on the defensive. He informed me that nothing had been officially communicated from India concerning you, nor any complaints whatever made by the India Government. All that they knew was through *private* communications.

“The next day I attended the Annual Meeting of the Bible Society, where specimens of your translations were handed round among the members, of whom several were noblemen and bishops. They had been received by Mr. Owen, the Secretary, from your and our worthy friend, Mr. Brown. I had also the pleasure of hearing it announced by the Chairman, Lord Teignmouth, that another 1000*l.* was voted in aid of the Translations.

“Returning to Kettering, I presently received a letter from Mr. Grant, apprising me that the 17th of June was the day for a pub-

lic meeting of the Proprietors of India Stock—that notice had just been given to Mr. Parry, the Chairman of the Directors, and who is our cordial friend, that a motion of inquiry would be made on that day into the business of Vellore—and that he and Mr. Grant expected that this occasion would be seized to aim some side blows at the Mission, which we ought to be prepared to meet. I set off the same day again for London, taking my statement with me, intended to get it printed and circulated among the Directors before the day fixed for the discussion. Going to Mr. Grant, he suggested several new ideas, one of which was, that I must not print this paper, as coming from nobody knew whom, but must go down to the country, call a Committee Meeting, let them approve of it, and order it to be signed by the Secretary.

“After coming from his house, I was waited on by three of the London Missionary Society, who proposed to act with us, as it was a common cause. To this I did not object, but the high tone which some of them assumed—talking of moving heaven and earth against the Directors—made me afraid. My mind revolted at such talk; and though I abstained from all reflections on their parade in the South Sea Mission, yet I ventured to say that I did not think that we should go about the business, by raising a body of proprietors to oppose the Directors—that we could not do it; and if we tried and failed, we should ruin our own cause. Eighteen years ago, I observed, there were great threats thrown out by us as Dissenters, if they did not repeal the Test and Corporation Acts—and what was the issue? Our strength when tried was found to be weakness. Nor did such measures approve themselves to me as a Christian.

“Leaving them, I immediately wrote to divers of our brethren, and called a Committee Meeting to be held at Northampton on the 9th of June. It was kept in fasting and prayer, reading your communications at intervals, and, lastly, my proposed statement for their approbation. We sat from 6 in the morning to 1, and it was resolved:—‘That the statement drawn up by Brother Fuller be considered as that of the committee; and that he be requested to return to London, and there to observe and act for the Mission as occasions may occur.’ I set off at 3 o’clock the same day, and reached London that night. Next morning I met three of the London Society. They were very urgent on me to act on the offensive, instead of the defensive. ‘You are guided,’ said they, ‘by Mr. Charles Grant, a timid, irresolute man. He hopes to get

the threatened discussion on the 17th June put off; we had rather it should come on. And if they would not bring it forward, we could and would. Eleven proprietors can at any time call a meeting or court. We could find eleven friends among the proprietors who would call a court, and make a motion that 'as rumours had gone forth unfavourable to the missionaries, it should be inquired whether they had any share in the blame of the Vellore mutiny.' I was so far of their mind as to wish the business to come to some issue, but not to provoke the discussion, or to be plaintiff, in it. This I did not like. We, however, resolved to conclude on nothing that day; but as they had an appointment to meet Lord Teignmouth, and I, Mr. Grant, we agreed to see each other afterwards.

"From thence I went to Mr. Grant. We again read over the statement. He then told me, he 'hoped that the threatened discussion on the 17th would pass over.' I, impressed in a measure by the conversation I had had with the others, answered 'I hope, it will not. I had rather they would say all they have to say, than otherwise.' He looked hard at me: 'You think,' said he, 'that I am timid and irresolute. I will just show you two or three letters which will convince you of the prejudice and power that you have to encounter. You wish the discussion to come on; but you do not expect any other result than that you will be outvoted in the Directory. What do you mean to do then?'—'Appeal to the Board of Control, and perhaps to the King'—'I do not think you have any reason to hope for the King's interference—and, as to the Board of Control, I will just show you two or three letters which will convince you of the prejudice and power which you have to encounter there.' These letters convinced me that our principal danger arose from the Board of Control, who had actually been calling out to the Directors, 'Why do you not order all those missionaries home?'—and also that the strongest remonstrances (arguments, I should rather say) had been sent in by Mr. Charles Grant, showing them that these men were not intemperate incendiaries—nor heady—nor ignorant—that no ill effects had ever arisen from their labours—that they were, several of them, men of learning, and by their good conduct had recommended themselves to the India Government. I saw also by these letters (but these are not subjects for common talk) that Lord Melville—late Mr. Henry Dundas—actually rules India through his son, who is the President of the Board of Control, and that Mr. Grant had been writing to

various persons in your behalf who could with most effect speak to Lord Melville. On seeing all this—which was a kind of panorama view of the army of Xerxes, and of the opposition of the 300 Greeks at the Straits of Thermopylæ—I could not but thank Mr. Grant for his great kindness, and declare my readiness to follow his advice. This was on Wednesday, June 10th. He then recommended me to get my statement printed, but not distributed till I had seen him again, and the time fixed for this was Tuesday morning, June 16th, when he hoped to know what would be done the next day at the India House, and, if necessary for me to know it, would tell me.

“ On leaving Mr. Grant I went, as by appointment, to meet our three friends of the London Missionary Society who had waited on Lord Teignmouth at the same time. I soon found that Lord Teignmouth had put them out of conceit of their strength, as much as Mr. Grant had me; and we were by this time of the mind not to *provoke* discussion, but to meet it if it came. From thence I set about printing the statement—I printed a thousand,—and waited the event of June 17th. Having seen Mr. Grant on the 16th, I found that the threatened discussion was likely to evaporate in nothing. He then directed me to send copies of the printed statement, folded in white paper, to all the Directors—to all the members of the Board of Control—to the principal members of the administration—to several of the nobility—and to certain female branches of the Royal family. I was, moreover, to write inside the cover to all the Directors, and to the President of the Board of Control, that I and another member of the Society would in a few days wait on them, and, if agreeable, should be glad of a few minutes’ conversation on the subject. Thus I had two or three weeks’ work cut out, and Mr. Grant told me I must expect it to be up-hill work; but it would have a conciliatory effect with some, and enable us to judge of the degree of opposition we might have to expect.

“ The next day, the 17th, I found the motion was made at the India House; but our good friend, Mr. Parry, the Chairman, had talked beforehand with the mover, and had so neutralised him, that his motion passed off, as mere milk and water, and no reflections whatever were thrown out against the Missions. My next object was to circulate the statement, and after a few days to visit the parties in company with Mr. Burls. We waited on fifteen or sixteen Directors out of the twenty-four. Our introduction to each

was, 'Have you received a pamphlet with such a title?' 'Yes.' 'We hope you have had leisure to read it.' This was commonly the case. 'We hope, sir, you are satisfied there has been nothing improper in the conduct of the missionaries.' Out of the twenty-four, about eight were missed as not at home—four or five were friends, four or five enemies, and the rest a sort of neutrals. But the person of the greatest importance to the object was the President of the Board of Control. My friend Mr. Grant, having had much to do with him, was anxious that I should have an interview with him. I found him—Mr. R. Dundas, the son of Lord Melville—an open, intelligent, well-behaved man. Having asked him the usual questions, he said he had received and carefully read the pamphlet; and instead of thinking the conduct of the missionaries improper, it appeared to him to have been highly proper. 'But Mr. Fuller,' said he, 'the minds of the Hindoos are attached to their superstitions, and require to be treated with prudence and caution. You must not be too zealous. I saw a paper written, I suppose, by some of your people, in which there were some strong things.' Fuller: 'Do you recollect any of them, sir?' Dundas: 'Yes it was said, *Your Shasters are founded in fable, and are fit for women and children rather than men*, or to this effect. To be sure, this is true; but it is provoking. If we were told so, we could not bear it.' Fuller: 'It happens, sir, that I have seen that paper, and can tell you the history of it.' It was not written by any of the missionaries, but by a converted native, since dead. It was called 'The Gospel Messenger.' The language may seem strong to us, sir, but we must not compare a high-spirited Englishman with a Hindoo. They will bear that and much more without being in a passion, or without any tumult being excited.' (The tract seems to have been translated into English, and sent over to some of the Directors by some person in India. I met with it in the India House.) Dundas: 'I acknowledge we have had no accounts of these things but by private letters.' Fuller: 'It is our request, sir, not to be judged by private letters and rumours, but by explicit accusations, which we may be able to meet.' Dundas: 'That is but fair.' Fuller: 'Whatever may be said of the preaching or writings of the missionaries, or of the converted natives, it is a fact that neither have produced any other resentment than what has been expressed in words, and those were directed merely against the preachers. No tumult, or anything affecting Government, has occurred.' Dundas: 'Well,

you must proceed with caution.' *Fuller* : ' We wish to be treated, sir, as we deserve. If we do wrong we expect to be answerable for it : but we do not wish to be prejudged, nor to have consequences ascribed to our actions before they appear. We can account, sir, for the private letters which have been written against us, though we know not the writers. Far be it from us to wish to accuse our countrymen, but we have been long aware that many Europeans in India have renounced Christianity. It is no wonder that such persons should dislike the missionaries and avail themselves of everything to stir up the Government against them.' All this he heard without any remarks. *Fuller* : ' We shall be glad to obtain an express permission, or what perhaps would be called a toleration, allowing us to itinerate and settle missionary stations in the country, that we may not be interrupted by the magistrates.' *Dundas* : ' I suppose you would ; but do you mean to apply for it immediately ? ' *Fuller* : ' No, sir, we do not. We are advised to wait till the present sensations shall have subsided.' *Dundas* : ' I think that would be wise ; perhaps in four or five months you might obtain it.' *Fuller* : ' Meanwhile, sir, we rely on the justice and generosity of Government not to hurt us, unless we should prove ourselves undeserving of protection.' To this he assented. I then said, I had wished to wait on all the members of the Board of Control as well as on himself, but was obliged to leave town next day. He answered, he believed my conversation with him would answer every purpose.

" In general, I observed that the most friendly part of the Directors, as well as Mr. Dundas, dwelt on the necessity of our proceeding *slowly* and *cautiously* in preaching to the natives. This circumstance impresses me with the idea, that should they grant us permission, it will be under some *restrictions* which may prove injurious. I have suggested this to Mr. Grant in writing, as well as in the above conversation, that it may be guarded against. Mr. Parry, the Chairman of the direction, expressed a hope that they would obtain permission for us in a while ; but Mr. Burls, who was with us, says, he confined it to those missionaries who *were there*. I did not observe this, but lest it should so be, I mentioned it in a conversation with Mr. Grant, to which he replied, ' If we can but get the *principle* admitted, every thing else will follow of course.' I also told Mr. Grant, that I desired no favour to be granted to our missionaries which should not apply to others.

" I one day called on Marquis Wellesley, and sat half an hour with

him. I told him what had befallen you since his departure, and he told me very frankly the principles on which he had been guided in his conduct towards you, viz. that he thought it his duty to facilitate your labours so far as he could do so, without implicating Government, or causing it to be considered as patronising you. I said, we desired only to be protected like other subjects, and that only while our conduct was deserving. I asked him, if application had been made to him for permission to itinerate and form stations, whether he should have felt an objection to granting it? He would not say he should not. He seemed to think that Government should be neutral, and that such a step might be departing in some measure from that neutrality. Upon the whole, he spoke very friendly and with great respect of the missionaries. He said, as to their being in any way accessory to the Vellore mutiny, that was impossible. He was not certain, however, that it might not have been aided by the intemperate zeal of some of the missionaries on the coast — ‘though,’ he added, ‘I certainly have no grounds to conclude that it was.’ I parted with him by saying, that as his lordship was acquainted with the present administration, and might possibly be asked his opinion of the conduct of the missionaries; if he would express the same sentiments on such occasion as he had been pleased to express to me, we should be greatly obliged to him. He very readily promised to do so, and offered me access to him on any occasion. I mentioned the great respect which I knew the missionaries felt towards him, and the intimation I had received from Mr. Carey of a grammar being about to arrive, which it was his wish should be presented to him. Soon after I had printed the statement, I sent one to him.

While I was in town, I had two interviews with Lord Teignmouth. I found him a cordial friend, and, as it appeared to me, a sincere Christian. He is a member of the Board of Control, and one of his Majesty’s Privy Council. The first time, he appeared willing to do anything in his power for you, and resolved to make use of all his influence, and which, having been Governor-General, is not small in India affairs. The second time he read to me a representation which he had drawn up in favour of Missions, but said, ‘You will not expect me to tell you what use I intend to make of it in your favour.’ It was firm, temperate, and judicious. It went to prove that our footing in India was very precarious, unless we had a body of the people attached to us, and which could be done only by Christianity. He first prefaced it,

however, by stating that Missions were *right*, and that whatever was right would be found to be *wise*; but added, 'As the policy of a measure may be thought necessary to be established, I will undertake to prove, that independent of every other consideration it is sound policy to encourage Christian Missions in India.'—As to the use he intended to make of it, he designed it no doubt for the highest authorities in the Board of Control, or any others who might have an influence upon that Board. I took his lordship a printed statement, which contained your sentiments on the above subject. He would read it, he said, but he wished, before he had read anything from any quarter, to write his own thoughts, and he had done so."

The number baptised during the year amounted to twenty-two, drawn from various parts of the country, from Jessore, from Chittagong, and from a village Native converts of the year. opposite to Calcutta, where several families had forsaken idolatry. Two of the converts were from the city of Patna, one a Hindoo, and the other a well-educated Mahomedan, Hidutulla, to whom we shall have occasion to allude in the succeeding year. One of the converts had been a disciple of Ramdoolal, mentioned in the notice of 1802. Another was Prankrishnu, who was soon after employed in preaching to his fellow-countrymen, and continued for forty years to promote the spread of the Gospel by his missionary and pastoral labours, as well as by his exemplary walk and conversation. A youth of the name of Gorachand, an inquirer, was violently captured by his friends on his way to the Mission House, and forced into a boat doubly manned. His screams attracted attention, and the missionaries pursued the party in their own boat, aided by that of Mr. Brown. By great exertion they came up with the captors before they could reach the opposite shore, and rescued the victim. He was baptised after a suitable period of probation. On the 25th of May of this year the missionaries record, that out of forty whom they had recently baptised, they had reason to fear that four or five were utterly insincere in their profession of

Christianity. In their quarterly letter, at the close of the year, they mention that the whole number baptised since their settlement at Serampore had been a hundred and four, of whom ninety-four were natives; of these they had been under the necessity of excluding thirteen, and six had been removed by death. They had ten native itinerants, whom they continued to send out, two and two, to a distance of many miles round them, notwithstanding the prohibition of Government. They thought it would be time to discontinue these journeys when the itinerants were actually driven back into the town by British officers. They enumerated three subordinate stations—Dinapore, under Mr. Fernandez; Cutwa, under Mr. Chamberlain; and Malda, temporarily occupied by Mr. Mardon. As regards Calcutta, they write, "How can we avoid sighing when we think of the number of perishing souls which this city contains, and recollect the multitudes who used of late to hang on our lips, standing in the thick-wedged crowd, for hours together, in the heat of a Bengal summer, listening to the Word of Life! We feel thankful, however, that nothing has been found against us except in the matter of our God. Conscious of the most cordial attachment to the British Government, and of the liveliest interest in its welfare, we might well endure reproach were it cast on us, but the tongue of calumny itself has not been suffered to bring the slightest accusation against us." They still held religious services in the private house they rented in Calcutta, and their Armenian friends had begun to erect a small room for native worship on their own premises in the Chitpore road. One Grieff, also, a Protestant schoolmaster, opened his house for worship, but the bungalow in the Bow Bazar continued to be closed by public authority. Mr. Biss, one of the missionaries who had come out in the preceding year, was attacked with what was commonly termed the "liver complaint," considered so fatal to European constitutions in India. The most eminent physicians in Cal-

cutta were consulted, but the disease increased so rapidly as to constrain them to advise his immediate return to Europe as the only chance of recovery. He embarked on an American ship with his wife and three children, but even for the inferior fare and accommodation of this vessel his brethren were obliged to pay what would now appear the exorbitant sum of 500*l*. In one of the Company's ships the charge would have been more than doubled.

Towards the close of this year, the missionaries were required to lay down a precedent for the course to be pursued when the wife of a convert refused to join him after he had embraced Christianity.

Bhagvat, a young brahmin, had been baptised some months before; his wife rejected all his

entreaties to live with him; and it became desirable that he should marry again. But the missionaries were unwilling to encourage this course, till every effort to overcome the wife's reluctance had been exhausted. Bhagvat was, therefore, directed to draw up a document stating that he had embraced Christianity, but still continued to consider himself the lawful husband of the woman he had married when a Hindoo, and was still willing to discharge all the duties of a husband towards her affectionately, but that he should consider the connection dissolved if she persisted in refusing to live with him. The document was formally registered in the Serampore Court, and he proceeded with it to his own village. He was not, however, permitted to pollute the family mansion by his presence, nor would his wife hold any communication with him. He was obliged, therefore, to stand at the outer door, where he read the paper aloud in the presence of several witnesses, and then sent it to his wife, who was listening from within. He called on her distinctly to state whether she would accompany him to Serampore. After a short pause, she tore the paper in pieces, and declared that from the day of his baptism she had renounced him for ever, and assumed the condition and dress

Rule regarding
the case of a Hin-
doo wife and her
Christian hus-
band.

of a widow. He asked for a deed of separation, which was refused, and he returned to Serampore, where Mr. Carey and his colleagues, after maturely weighing the circumstances of the case, determined in accordance with the decision of St. Paul:—"But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such a case;" that the convert was no longer debarred from contracting a second marriage.

CHAP. VI.

At the beginning of 1807, the College of Fort William was remodelled and reduced. When the Court of Directors were constrained, under the pressure of Mr. Pitt's influence, to revoke the order for its abolition, they resolved to erect another institution in England upon a similar plan, and, to a certain extent, with a similar object. It was the College of Fort William which gave birth to the College at Haileybury. While the Directors, therefore, censured the proceedings of Lord Wellesley in India, they paid him no mean compliment by adopting the principles on which his college was founded, in one of their own creation. After Lord Wellesley once raised the qualifications of the civil service, it was impossible for the Court to revert to the loose and inefficient system of tuition, which had previously been deemed sufficient. In the new institution at Haileybury, they made provision for the instruction of the young civilian in all those branches of European knowledge which the Governor-General had proposed to teach in the Calcutta College. His European education was thus completed before he embarked for India; and he acquired at the same time the rudiments of the Eastern languages. At the annual examination of the College of Fort William in 1807, the visitor, Sir George Barlow, described Haileybury as "intended to afford gentlemen, destined for the civil service of the Company, an opportunity of acquiring those branches of knowledge which the service requires, and which are more easily obtainable in England than in this

Remodelling of
the College of
Fort William.

Establishment of
Haileybury.

country, and becoming initiated in the elements of those studies for the attainment of perfection in which the College of Fort William is exclusively calculated." That these branches of European knowledge can be more successfully cultivated in England than in India, will not admit of a doubt, and the establishment at Haileybury may therefore be considered, not merely as the triumph of Lord Wellesley's views, but also as an improvement on his plans. When the arrangements for the institution were completed, orders were issued from Leadenhall Street, in May, 1806, to reduce the College of Fort William. The offices of Provost and Vice-Provost were abolished, by which the influence, as well as the income, of Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan was materially curtailed. The former was reduced from 40,000 to 16,000 rs. a year, and the latter from 34,000 to 15,000 rs. The period of study was also limited to a single twelvemonth, and the professorships were restricted to three, the Hindoostanee, the Persian, and the Bengalee. The statutes were likewise remodelled, and the clause requiring its officers to profess the religion of the Church of England, which the episcopal zeal of Mr. Buchanan had introduced, was abrogated. Mr. Carey, who had hitherto ranked only as a teacher, was now raised to a professorship, and his allowances were increased from 500 rs. a month to 1000, "which," as he writes, "will be a great help to the Mission."

The Mission to Burmah commenced with the year 1807. Some reflections were subsequently cast on the Serampore missionaries for thus dissipating their strength on foreign missions, instead of concentrating it in Bengal. But it must be borne in mind, that this Mission was undertaken under the pressure of a strong necessity, when their path in the British territories was blocked up by the fears and the hostility of their own Government. When Mr. Chater embarked for Rangoon, he was under orders to reimbark for England, nor could the Serampore missionaries have attempted the establish-

Mission to
Burmah.

ment of new stations in the Bengal Presidency with any degree of confidence, while those which they had ventured to plant were liable, at any time, to be broken up by an officious judge or magistrate. The Burmese Mission was regarded with feelings of the most affectionate solicitude. "Besides making it," writes Mr. Carey, "a subject in all our prayers, we have appointed an hour in the Friday evening of the month, to seek the Divine blessing on it." The instructions which were given to the missionaries on their departure, serve to exhibit those enlarged views which were associated in the minds of the Serampore missionaries with the diffusion of divine truth.

"You will, in a manner tending to excite as little suspicion as possible, inquire into the established religion of the country, and how far the Government may be disposed to resist any encroachments on it, — what is the present state of the Catholics, and in what way they attempt to make proselytes, — whether the Government appears to be under the influence of the Brahmins, — what are the laws of police with respect to foreigners, and whether the Government be jealous of them, — in what capacity a European might with the least suspicion reside in Rangoon, — the language of the country, its different dialects, and the best means of acquiring it, — the state of civilisation, and how far the lower orders are affected by the reigning superstition, — the price of the principal articles of subsistence, and of the necessary accommodations, — whether there be any commercial intercourse between the Burmans and the Chinese, — whether female foreigners have the liberty of going and returning from the country, — the general currency, and state of exchange between Rangoon and Bengal, — what agreement there is between the superstition of the country and that of Bengal; whether there be any castes, and whether the natives discover aversion to any of the European customs, — whether the natives have frequent intercourse with the neighbouring islands, and whether the language of those places could be learnt at Rangoon, — the most prevalent diseases of the country, particularly of the district in which you may be called to reside. Collect any natural curiosities you may meet with, or specimens of their manufactures, which may tend to illustrate the manners and customs of the Burmans.

"If you can do it with propriety, visit other parts of the adjacent country, to ascertain whether Rangoon be the best for the missionary station.

"If introduced to any of the Catholic priests, endeavour to procure their confidence, by an ingenuous and affectionate behaviour towards them.

"If you should happen to be called into the presence of the king, avoid all reserve, and put on a cheerful and winning confidence; offering your services to him in a way becoming your characters, and testifying your loyalty as becomes Christians.

"Be not discouraged by any of the difficulties you may meet with — be of one soul — surrender yourselves wholly up to the Lord, and He will be with you, and prosper your way before you."

On the 25th of January Mr. Ward opened the little Chapel in the Chitpore road, which is the great thoroughfare in the native quarter of the city of Calcutta. It was simply a room in the house of one of their Armenian friends, which had been fitted up for public worship. In his journal he notices the unfeigned satisfaction he felt in being the honoured instrument of thus commencing the worship of God in this Chapel, as he had done in the Bow Bazar bungalow, little supposing, at the time, that before the end of the year this small and unpretending meeting-house would, in like manner, excite the alarm of Government and be closed by its order. The Armenian, to whom the house belonged, had erected a large wooden cross over the gateway, but Mr. Marshman, well knowing the superstitious veneration in which the cross was held by the Armenians and Roman Catholics who assembled there for worship, deemed it advisable to correct this feeling by requesting the removal of it, and, on some appearance of hesitation, called for a ladder and took it down with his own hands. It must, however, be observed that it was only with reference to the peculiar associations of the case, and the ignorance and superstition which pervaded the class of men who attend the services, that Mr. Marshman required the removal of this ecclesiastical emblem. So little objection

Chapel in the
Chitpore-road.

had he to it in a situation where it could foster no error, that he preached for thirty years in the settlement church at Serampore, the steeple of which was surmounted by a large gilt cross. On the 1st of February the missionaries determined to celebrate the Lord's supper in the evening, as a separate and distinct service, and the arrangement, which has been continued at Serampore from that time to the present, has generally been acknowledged to be preferable to that of administering the ordinance immediately after the mind has been fatigued by a long sermon. On the 8th of March Mr. Carey received the diploma of Doctor of Divinity, from Brown University, in the United States. Seldom has this literary distinction been conferred by that body on one who did more honour to the selection. Of his colossal labours on the days which he spent in Calcutta, a private letter affords the following memorial: — "He rose at a quarter before six, read a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and spent the time till seven in private devotions. He then had family prayer in Bengalee with the servants, after which he read Persian with a Moonshee who was in attendance. As soon as breakfast was over, he sat down to the translation of the Ramayun, with a pundit, till ten; when he proceeded to the college, and attended its duties till two. Returning home he examined a proof sheet of the Bengalee translation of Jeremiah, and dined with his friend Mr. Rolt. After dinner, with the aid of the chief pundit of the college, he translated a chapter of Matthew into Sanscrit. At six, he sat down with the Telinga pundit, to study that language, and then preached an English sermon to a congregation of about forty. The service being ended at nine, he sat down to the translation of Ezekiel into Bengalee,—he had thrown aside his former version, and was now retranslating the prophets. At eleven, the duties of the day closed, and after reading a chapter in the Greek Testament, and commending himself to God, he retired to rest." Few, indeed, were the men

Mr. Carey receives the diploma of Doctor of Divinity.

who could exhibit such a report of their time in the exhausting climate of the East.

The chapel in the Bow Bazar had now made considerable progress, and the walls were rising rapidly to view, when Mr. Blacquiere, one of the magistrates of Calcutta, who watched the movements of the ^{Bow Bazar Chapel.} missionaries with a jealous eye, informed the architect that as it was a public edifice it was necessary to obtain the sanction of Government for its erection. Mr. Carey and his colleagues were at first inclined to present an application to the Governor-General in their own names, but were deterred by the assurance that it would scarcely be granted. The architect was, therefore, desired to continue his operations without intermission. But a fortnight after the first message, Mr. Blacquiere sent for him a second time, and threatened an immediate report to Government unless permission was obtained to erect it. To prevent an official and unfavourable representation, at a time when the public authorities were disposed to be hostile, the missionaries were constrained to go up to the Supreme Council, and as it was considered that the request would be more likely to succeed if it was backed by the Christian community in Calcutta, Mr. Marshman drew up a memorial to the Governor-General in Council, soliciting permission to erect a place of Protestant worship in Calcutta; and, during the month of April, waited in person on the principal inhabitants not in the public service, and obtained more than a hundred signatures to it. To the great delight, as well as surprise, of the missionaries, permission was granted within a week to proceed with the building.

Mr. Buchanan returned to Calcutta from his tour among the Syrian Christians in the south of India, on the 13th of March, and found that the office he had held in the college for more than six years ^{Mr. Buchanan's Literary Intelligence.} was abolished, and that his connection with that institution, which had been the pride of his Indian

life, and the origin of many plans of utility, as well as the chief source of his influence, had been abolished. He found also, that the repugnance of the governing body to everything associated, even in a remote degree, with evangelisation of the natives, continued without abatement. In one of his letters to England, written at this time, he affirmed that this feeling became apparent as soon as Lord Wellesley left the Government, and the fact is corroborated in a letter from Dr. Carey to Mr. Fuller, which states, that the whole period of Sir George Barlow's administration, which extended to twenty-two months, was one of almost uninterrupted opposition to Missions. Not that Sir George ever manifested the least feeling of unfriendliness to the missionaries themselves,—the doubling of Dr. Carey's salary was a token both of official respect and personal esteem;—but the influence of the alarmists, and of the opponents of the missionary cause, had gradually been gaining strength in the public counsels, and the spirit of a weak Government yielded to the encroachment of their influence. Mr. Buchanan had drawn up a summary of his researches among the ancient Christians in the south of India, and he proposed to publish it under the title of "Literary Intelligence," in the hope of strengthening the public interest in the spread of Christian knowledge in India. The Madras authorities, however, considered it a very dangerous publication, and refused to allow it to appear in any of the public journals. The Government of Bengal, under the influence of the same alarm, excluded it from the papers at that Presidency. Mr. Buchanan having now become completely alienated from the Government, of which he had recently been one of the most influential members, printed the "Literary Intelligence," in a quarto form, in a large type, in defiance of its known wishes, giving in an appendix that which he knew would be particularly irritating, — the letter addressed to him by the University of Cambridge, on the diffusion of revealed religion among the natives of Asia.

The cordial fellowship which had so long subsisted between Mr. Brown and the Serampore missionaries was unhappily interrupted, for a season, in the month of May in the present year. Mr. Brown, ^{Mr. Buchanan's British Propaganda.} who was distinguished by the frankness and amiability of his disposition, entertained a feeling of the deepest and most affectionate deference for Mr. Buchanan, whom he described as "the man to do good in the earth, and worthy of being Metropolitan of the East." His influence over Mr. Brown's mind was that of a bold spirit over a meek one. Mr. Buchanan, with all his liberality of feeling, never lost sight of the interests of the Church of England, and the kindness he manifested towards the missionaries at Serampore, however sincere, was too often marked by an exhibition of condescending patronage. On his return to Calcutta, he found all his plans for associating the Translations with the College irrevocably broken up, and he determined, therefore, to establish another institution for promoting this object, after the model of the Propaganda at Rome. He proposed that a College of Translations should be instituted at Serampore, to be termed the British Propaganda, and to be supported by voluntary subscriptions and donations; that it should be placed under the patronage of his Danish Majesty and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and under the perpetual superintendence of a clergyman of the Church of England; that to this college should appertain all the sums collected for translations throughout England, America, and India, and that the Mission Press at Serampore should be attached to it, and be henceforth called the Press of the British Propaganda. Mr. Buchanan communicated his plan to Mr. Brown, who was at first opposed to it, but a few hours' conversation with Mr. Buchanan removed every objection, and he became its hearty and earnest advocate, and sent it to the missionaries for their approval. The more they examined it, however, the more formidable did the objections to it appear. They

perceived that while it brought no additional strength to the work of translations, it presented a most formidable aspect. In the existing temper of Government in reference to Missions, they feared that the ostentatious establishment of such a college, with so ominous a designation, might increase its alarm to such a degree, as to lead to the conviction that the toleration of missionaries was no longer incompatible with the public peace. The appearance of a rival college, instituted by missionaries,—for to their agency would it be ascribed,—might, moreover, give such umbrage as to compromise Dr. Carey's position in the College of Fort William. The expenses of the institution, in the erection of buildings and the salaries of professors, of which there were to be five, appeared likely to absorb all the funds which might be raised before a single copy of the Scriptures was printed. Such a college, moreover, must contain within itself the seeds of dissolution. Though the missionaries might have little objection, on the ground of personal esteem, to the supremacy of Mr. Brown or Mr. Buchanan, yet, as both of them were anxious to return to England, the superintendence of the college, in which all their labours in the translations were to be merged, must devolve on some younger and less experienced man; and as he must be a member of the Church of England, and might be a high churchman, the foundation would be laid for immediate discord and eventual disruption. The missionaries, therefore, felt themselves constrained strenuously to resist the proposal. Mr. Brown, on the contrary, had such implicit confidence in Mr. Buchanan, and his schemes, as to assert that “possibilities were more within his ken than in that of other men;” and a long controversial correspondence was carried on for several weeks, the result of which was to interrupt for a time that cordiality which had so long and so happily subsisted between the missionaries and Mr. Brown. It was soon, however, restored, and the prayer-meetings at the Pagoda were resumed, and their mutual friendship was again cemented

by the new difficulties created by the renewed and increased opposition of Government to Missions.* Mr. Buchanan, meanwhile, withdrew his Propaganda project, and substituted for it the plan of a "Christian Institution," dedicated to all good men, to be an instrument in their hands of extending the knowledge of revealed religion by the translation of the Holy Scriptures, and to be placed under the immediate patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, and of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. It was in connection with this institution, that he asked Mr. Owen, the first, and most eminent Secretary of the Bible Society, for a subscription of 10,000*l.* a year, for five years, with which "the whole Eastern world was to be illuminated." This project was considered by Mr. Owen, and the Bishop of London (Dr. Porteous), too wild and visionary to be entertained, and Mr. Owen informed Mr. Fuller, that, in his opinion, the Serampore missionaries had acted prudently and fairly in rejecting the Propaganda.

In the course of this year, Nathaniel Sabat arrived at Serampore with a letter of introduction to the missionaries from Dr. Ker, the senior chaplain at Madras.

He was an Arab of noble extraction, and Nathaniel Sabat. claimed the distinction of being directly connected with the family of the Prophet. After various adventures in Central Asia of a very romantic character, he came to India, and obtained the situation of expounder of Mahomedan law in the Civil Court of Vizagapatam, a district on the Coromandel coast, under the Madras Presidency, where he enjoyed a liberal allowance from Government. The perusal of the New Testament, and a comparison of the doctrines contained in it, with those of the Koran, led him to renounce his hereditary creed and embrace Christianity. By this change of faith, his position in the Court was rendered disagreeable, and he proceeded to Madras and presented himself to Dr. Ker, by whom he

was baptized and sent up to the missionaries at Serampore, that he might enjoy the benefit of Christian instruction and society, and be enabled to turn his knowledge of Arabic and Persian to account in the translations. He was very cordially received by the missionaries, who explained to him the simple and economical principles of their establishment, and offered to receive him into the family. He was a man of lofty stature, and as haughty in his demeanour as might have been expected in one who traced his pedigree to Mahomed; while a flowing black beard gave additional dignity to his appearance. He was delighted with the simplicity of life and the devotedness to one great object which he witnessed at Serampore, and determined to cast in his lot with the missionaries. He dismissed his two Arab attendants, dined at the common table, and gave up his time and attention to the translation of the Scriptures. Soon after his arrival, Mr. Buchanan expressed a strong desire to transfer the Persian translation of the New Testament to Mr. Martyn, at Dinapore, and although the Serampore missionaries were then prosecuting it, with the aid of Sabat, they determined to relinquish it without any appearance of hesitation. Mr. Buchanan also proposed to send Sabat to Mr. Martyn, on a salary of two hundred rupees a month, to which the missionaries demurred, as an unnecessary waste of public funds. The engagement with Sabat, however, was completed, and he left Serampore—where, notwithstanding his fiery Arab temper, he had lived in great harmony with the missionaries—with tears in his eyes. Mr. Buchanan, on his return to England, brought the romantic and interesting career of Sabat before the English public, by the publication of a sermon designated the “Star in the East.” But Sabat was not a man to act in subordination to any rules which did not exactly coincide with his own. He fell out in a short time with his new patrons, and addressed an angry remonstrance to Mr. Udny, in which he signed himself “Nathaniel Sabat, a free Arab; never was in

bondage." He did not remain long with Mr. Martyn, and was said to have subsequently relapsed to Mahomedanism. He wandered to various places in India, and took service some years later with the Mussulman chief of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, where he encountered a temper as overbearing as his own; and having given umbrage to his master, was barbarously hacked to pieces and his body thrown into the sea. About a fortnight after Sabat had been thus salaried, Mr. Buchanan informed the missionaries, through Mr. Brown, that on examining the account of the Translation Fund sent him by the treasurers, he found that there remained only 4800 rupees of the sums raised in India, and that he had therefore directed the payment of 300 rupees a month, made to them for the translations in progress, to be immediately discontinued. Mr. Marshman, in writing on the subject to Mr. Fuller, stated that this measure was rendered necessary by the exhaustion of the fund, though the mode in which it was announced taught them the "blessings of co-operation." He remarked that, "though the whole amount was intended by the public for us, whose names alone were attached to the proposals, we were not only thought unworthy of being consulted on the measure, but even of having it communicated to us in a direct way." The letter concluded with the following just and not ungenerous remarks on Mr. Buchanan's proceedings:—"Mr. Buchanan is going immediately to England, perhaps never to return. I must, after all, declare that he is a good man, thoroughly evangelical, a friend to the cause of God, but by no means an enemy to us; a man with whom friendship is desirable, but not coalition; the services he has rendered to our Mission *ought never* to be forgotten. A little too much of worldly prudence—not avarice—and, perhaps, a touch of ambition, are his only blemishes. We came to greater things. We are fallen into deep waters."

Mr. Buchanan's
proceedings.

These "deep waters" referred to the opposition of

Government, which was revived with extraordinary virulence on the arrival of Lord Minto as Governor-General. But, as it will be advisable to give an unbroken narrative of the vigorous effort which was made in India, in September, 1807, and a few months later in England, to extinguish the Mission, the remaining incidents of 1807 will be disposed of before we touch on those memorable

events. At the beginning of this year, Mr. Burman Mission. Chater and Mr. Mardon sailed for Rangoon, to make inquiries regarding the practicability of establishing a Mission in the Burmese territories. They met with a generous reception from the European traders settled at that port, as well as from one of the Burmese functionaries, and returned to Serampore in May with a favourable report of the missionary prospects in Burmah. Mr. Mardon, however, was unwilling to return thither; he was indisposed to the labour of studying a second language, and his diffident mind shrunk from the task of breaking up new ground in a foreign country. Mr. Ward then proposed that the missionaries should, for fifteen days, seek divine guidance as to the choice of his successor. At the end of that time, Mr. Felix Carey, who was personally attached to Mr. Chater, offered to accompany him. Mr. Ward and Dr. Carey were averse to his removal; they considered that as he was familiar with the economy of a printing-office, he would be able to supply Mr. Ward's place in case of necessity, and that his complete knowledge of Sanscrit and Bengalee would render him a valuable assistant in the translations. Mr. Felix Carey, however, could not be dissuaded from his desire to embark in this new and difficult enterprise, to which the natural elasticity of his mind strongly inclined him; and the majority of the missionaries being disposed to accept his offer, it was determined that he should proceed to Burmah. A passage was soon after procured, but the Bay swarmed with French privateers from the Isle of France, and the most enterprising of them, Surcœuf, had in six weeks cap-

ured property of the value of 300,000%. The premium of insurance in Calcutta rose to a prohibitory rate, the trade of the port was completely paralysed, and Government was at length constrained to lay an embargo on all vessels in it. The only ships which could leave the port without risk, were those which had obtained Danish papers and a Danish flag from the neutral settlement of Serampore. Mr. Chater and Mr. F. Carey were thus detained to the end of the year, when the vessel in which a passage had been engaged was taken under convoy by a British frigate, and reached the mouth of the Rangoon river in safety.

The chapel in the Bow Bazar had been pushed on with great vigour after the sanction of Government was obtained, but the funds were completely exhausted, and the missionaries had come under large obligations to Mr. Rolt, the architect. It was impossible to make any further progress without additional aid from the public. But it appeared impolitic to attract public attention to any object connected with the Mission while the storm of opposition continued to rage. But as soon as the hostility of Government appeared to have abated, Mr. Marshman went to Calcutta, and in person solicited the assistance of the most opulent European gentlemen unconnected with the public service. He proceeded from house to house, with the subscription paper in his pocket, represented the destitute condition of the Christian population who were unable to attend the Episcopal churches, and the efforts, now unhappily suspended for want of funds, which had recently been made to erect a chapel for their benefit. With some few exceptions he was received with courtesy, and his application was generally successful. One member of the Medical Board, a good sample of the Indianised European, told him that in his opinion it was a matter of perfect indifference whether a man worshipped God in a heathen temple, or a Mahomedan mosque, or a Christian church; and that, as for himself, he had half a dozen natural

Mr. Marshman
collects funds for
the Bow Bazar
Chapel.

children to provide for, and could not subscribe. Mr. Marshman, who had few equals in the art of persuasive importunity, succeeded in raising 1100*l.* in less than ten days, generally from gentlemen independent of Government, and altogether unconnected with his own denomination. But this novel exhibition of zeal did not pass without an attempt at ridicule. The winter of 1807 was remarkable for its gaieties. Lord Minto's arrival had given a new impulse to public amusements, and there was an unabated succession of balls and masquerades. At one of the fancy balls at which the Governor-General was present, some gentleman thought fit to amuse the company by personating Mr. Marshman, and went about the room with a subscription paper under his arm, habited in the single-breasted coat and breeches, which Mr. Marshman then wore, and which he continued to wear, notwithstanding the change of fashion, down to the day of his death. In the description given of the entertainment by one of the eight newspapers then published in Calcutta, it was announced, that among other amusing characters there was "a pious missionary soliciting subscriptions, and that it was gratifying to remark that his paper had been so well filled."

A reference has been already made to a small body of pious European gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Malda, who were endeavouring to diffuse Christian knowledge around them. They were

Death of Mr.
Creighton and
Mr. W. Grant.

Dr. Carey's friends and associates while he resided at Mudnabatty, and they maintained a regular correspondence with him and his colleagues after the Mission had been removed to Serampore. In their journeys to and from Calcutta they seldom passed Serampore without calling to make inquiries regarding the progress of the Mission, and to enjoy the congenial society of the missionaries. One of them, Mr. Creighton, had particularly interested himself in the establishment of vernacular schools, and had drawn up and published "a few

memoranda on the most obvious means of establishing native schools for the introduction of the Scriptures and useful knowledge among the natives of Bengal." He was the first layman in India who appears to have devoted his attention to this question, and his pamphlet has all the interest of novelty. On Mr. Mardon's relinquishing the Burmese Mission, it was proposed to place him at Goamalty, in the neighbourhood of Malda, where Mr. Creighton superintended a factory of Mr. Charles Grant, and Mr. Ward opened a correspondence with Mr. Creighton on this subject. But the letter was answered by his friend Mr. W. Grant, who conveyed the melancholy intelligence of Mr. Creighton's unexpected decease, and dwelt with great feeling on the irreparable loss which he and the cause of Indian improvement had sustained by this event. Mr. Ward, in his reply to this letter, expressed the deep regret with which he and his colleagues, but more especially Dr. Carey, had received this announcement. Before this letter reached its destination, Mr. Grant himself was in his grave. He died within a fortnight of his beloved associate, and at the same house: the residence of a common friend at Berhampore, to which station he had proceeded for medical advice. A few days before his death Mr. Grant made his will, and bequeathed 2000*l.* to the Serampore Mission, 1000*l.* to the Translation Fund, and a similar sum to the Evangelical Fund connected with the Mission Church in Calcutta.—On the 7th of December Mrs. Carey who had been in a state of mental aberration for twelve years, was removed by death. "The turn of her mind was such," as her husband remarked to Mr. Fuller, "as to prevent her feeling even those ideal pleasures which are sometimes enjoyed by maniacal persons." It will serve to give some idea of the strength and energy of Dr. Carey's character, that the arduous biblical and literary labours in which he had been engaged since his arrival at Serampore, were prosecuted while an insane wife, frequently wrought up to a state of

Death of Mrs.
Carey.

the most distressing excitement, was in the next room but one to his study.

The state of the Mission family at Serampore had been a source of great anxiety to the senior missionaries for several years. In addition to the external difficulties of their position, they had to combat the uneven tempers and disappointed wishes of the junior brethren, some of whom expressed strong dissatisfaction that they were not allowed an equal share of authority with Dr. Carey, Mr. Marshman, and Mr. Ward, who had steered the vessel of the Mission through the most dangerous quicksands, and the most violent tempests. The management of the Mission at this crisis required a combination of the highest prudence, ability, and energy; and those who were desirous of taking the helm were entirely destitute of these qualifications. Their capacity for administration was in an inverse ratio to their eagerness to grasp it, and in their hands the Mission would have become a wreck in six months. So vehement, at one time, was the opposition which Dr. Carey and his two colleagues experienced from some of their younger brethren, that they were constrained to submit the correspondence to the Society. The Society had always reprobated the concession of equality which the senior missionaries had made to the juniors, for the sake of peace. Dr. Ryland, in one of his letters, went so far as to say, "Who of us ever advocated the democratic nonsense of every apprentice we send you being equal the moment he set his foot on Bengal ground? You may have had such notions; we never infused them into your mind." The Society now perceived the necessity of counteracting this baneful system, and Mr. Fuller, on reading the correspondence, wrote to Serampore that if such factious antagonism was not discontinued, the committee would feel it their painful duty to recall those who appeared so impracticable. At length a meeting of the whole body of missionaries was held, when it was unanimously resolved, that "the

Internal state of
the Mission.

brethren at Serampore, as well as those at subordinate stations, should hereafter choose their own coadjutors." It was provided that each station should be independent as to its family connections, and that those who formed it should be associated together only by their own consent; that these distinct families and stations should constitute one general Mission, with a committee and a secretary to transact business at Serampore. The three senior missionaries formed the committee, and Mr. Rowe was fixed on for the secretary. The extent of embarrassment created by these contests, may be estimated from Mr. Ward's remarks on the resolution:—"The burden of four years has been taken off my mind. I have been sighing over the Mission and its fate, when it should fall into the hands of — and —; but this regulation prevents all I feared. My dear Fuller, all that is human that we want at present is, one or two tried men, qualified to translate and to govern honestly and mildly when we are dead and gone. You send us raw young men, perhaps religious adventurers. One of them tells me he once wanted to go to the West Indies, as a clerk, or something in a plantation; then to become an officer; last of all, he became a missionary. He is really a good man, but to him the Mission is a sinecure." Soon after, in enumerating the difficulties of the year, he says, "then came the settling of matters in our own family, whether the Mission should be quite open, and become a prey to some little tyrant, or whether the preservation of it should be formally provided for. This last has been done, so that no adventurer, either at Serampore, or at any other station, will be able to assume the reins without being called to it in a regular way." In the same letter, he refers to some remarks which had been published in the "Theological Repository" by those who were unfriendly to Missions, and which Mr. Fuller wished him to refute. He says:—"These remarks indicate a cavilling, censorious, splitting temper, incompatible with the state of a mind pursuing earnestly great

objects. You wish me to give you such an answer as you may publish. My dear brother, these drivelling cavillers will go unanswered to all eternity, unless they can find some one who has less to do, and more faith in the use of such answers, than I have." In noticing some small payments which had been made to his mother in England, he says:—"I hope the Society will not make any allowance to my mother unasked. I hope and believe she does not want. I wish to die leaving the Mission as much in my debt as possible; so that I may die poor, having received nothing of the Mission but food and raiment. Hitherto, I have spent my private property to do this, and no one shall stop my boasting in all Asia." To understand the character of this remark, it must be remembered that at this time he was contributing all the profits of the Press to the Mission, and receiving from it in return a pittance not sufficient to cover his personal expenses, for which he was obliged to encroach on the little fund he brought with him from England. In the same journal he records that his two colleagues "were contributing 2400*l.* a year to the Mission, receiving from it only their food and a trifle of pocket-money for apparel."—As it regards the progress of conversion, this year of troubles does not appear to have been favourable to the increase of the Church. Mr. Chamberlain baptized two natives at Cutwa, but only two others were baptized at Serampore.

The hostility to the Mission, which was lulled for ten months, was renewed soon after the arrival of Lord

Lord Minto
Governor-
General.

Minto, who landed in Calcutta on the 31st of July, and received the office of Governor-General from Sir George Barlow. Lord Cornwallis, during his brief tenure of office, had laid the foundation of a "system of pacification," intended to restrain for ever the progress of British supremacy in India. Sir George Barlow, who had most cordially seconded Lord Wellesley's bold, and, as it was deemed, aggressive, policy, now supported the opposite policy of his successor; and, on suc-

ceeding temporarily to the office of Governor-General, endeavoured to carry it out with zeal. The Court of Directors were charmed with his proceedings, and became anxious to secure him the permanent appointment to that post. When the intelligence of the death of Lord Cornwallis reached England, Mr. Pitt was in his grave and the Whigs were in office. Lord Minto was the new President of the Board of Control; and at the first interview with him and Lord Grenville, the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman urged the claims of Sir George Barlow to the vacant office. They concurred in the recommendation, but desired it to be expressly understood that, uninformed as they must be, at the first moment of their entrance into office, of what might enable them to form a final judgment regarding the affairs and the Government of India, they must not be considered as precluding themselves from a subsequent revision of the subject. A commission was therefore sent out to Sir George Barlow; but it had scarcely been despatched when Lord Lauderdale came forward as a candidate for the office, backed by all the power of the Administration. The Court felt the strongest repugnance to him: though possessed of abilities, information, and application to business, his friends fully acknowledged that he had been "lax in his political, religious, and domestic relations." The Court refused to rescind the appointment which had been already made, more, perhaps, from opposition to Lord Lauderdale than from attachment to Sir George. The Ministry, perceiving that their credit, in public estimation, was committed in the contest, determined to bring into the field the power which the law had vested in the Crown, but which had never yet been exercised; and, by a royal mandate, revoked the commission which had been sent to Sir George Barlow. The Court, however, persisted in refusing to nominate Lord Lauderdale; but the warmth of their predilection for their own nominee had been abated, in no small degree, by the offensive regulation which he had passed

after the retirement of Lord Wellesley, to connect the Government of India with the temple of Juggernaut, which so disgusted the India House as, in the opinion of one of the most eminent members of the Court, "to influence his early removal from his high office." After several weeks of contention between the two powers to whom the Government of India had been confided by the wisdom of Parliament, the Board gave up Lord Lauderdale, and the Court accepted Lord Minto. As some compensation for the disappointment of this supersession, Sir George Barlow was invested with the riband of the Bath, and appointed Governor of Madras, from which post the Court of Directors had just expelled Lord William Bentinck, because he had the misfortune to be Governor of Madras when the Vellore mutiny occurred. Sir George's indiscretion in the administration of that Presidency soon brought on a mutiny, even more serious than that of Vellore—a mutiny of the British officers against their own Government; and all the hopes of a peerage, which he had been cherishing, were at once blasted, and he retired into obscurity in England, where he died some years back at a very advanced age.

Lord Minto had been one of the managers appointed by the House of Commons to conduct the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and he was subsequently employed in the prosecution of Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of Bengal. When the Whigs came into power in 1806, he was selected for the office of President of the Board of Control. These engagements had given him an interest in India, and some little knowledge of its affairs. He had also been Governor of Corsica, and the British Representative at the Court of Vienna. He was, perhaps, as fit for the office of Governor-General as a statesman without first-rate abilities, or a competent knowledge of Indian affairs, could be expected to prove. He was a man of cultivated mind and classical taste, and disposed to encourage literary undertakings. As regarded the

Lord Minto's
character.

evangelisation of India, his ideas probably coincided with those of the great Whig leader, now at the head of the Ministry, who had declared in Parliament fourteen years before, that he considered all schemes of proselytism as wrong in themselves and as productive, in most cases, of abuse and political mischief. Unhappily for the Serampore missionaries, the first intelligence he received on his arrival in India, as he landed at Madras on his way to Calcutta, was the report of the massacre at Vellore. At that Presidency he imbibed the impression, then predominant, that this portentous calamity was to be attributed to an indiscreet tampering with the religious prejudices of the natives, and, more especially, with those of the Mahomedan soldiery. At Calcutta, this persuasion was strengthened by the clamorous assertions of the most influential functionaries of Government, who likewise ascribed the mutiny to religious impulses. His mind was thus prepared to receive with confidence the representations of the anti-missionary party, of the danger of "any interference with the religious prejudices of the people," and of the necessity of restraining missionary efforts. An indefinite idea of the imminent peril which threatened the empire from this source, took complete possession of his mind, at a time when he was necessarily obliged to lean on the experience of others; and an occasion was soon presented for the exercise of these feelings.

A pamphlet, which had issued from the Mission press at Serampore some months previously, had just fallen into the hands of one of the secretaries to Government, and Dr. Carey was required to attend the office of the chief secretary, Mr. Thomas Brown, on the 2nd of September, 1807, where he also met Mr. Edmonstone, the secretary in the Secret and Political department, and the chief mover in the transactions which followed. Mr. Edmonstone was one of the ablest members of the Government; he was gifted with a sound and solid judgment, and possessed of official expe-

*An obnoxious
Tract leads to the
opposition of Go-
vernment.*

rience surpassed by none, and equalled by few. He had been twenty-four years in the public service, and was perfectly master of the system of Indian Government as it had been gradually matured, and of the mode in which it was deemed advisable to work it. He was a statesman of his own age, scarcely in advance of it, but still a statesman and not a mere civilian. Though kind and generous in his disposition, he was thoroughly imbued with the principles of Indian despotism, which he considered necessary to the existence of our dominion; and his mind was also strongly impressed, at least at the present juncture, with the conviction that no attempt to convert the natives could be made without danger. That his proceedings on the present occasion, however much they were to be regretted, arose from conscientious and patriotic motives is testified by the whole of his subsequent conduct, when the alarms of the day had subsided. At this meeting at the secretary's office, Dr. Carey was asked whether he was cognisant of the publication of a pamphlet at the Serampore press, containing strictures on Mahomedanism and its founder, which had been circulated among the inhabitants of the Presidency. Dr. Carey stated, that although he could not take on himself to assert that no such pamphlet had issued from the press, yet he was scarcely aware of its existence. Mr. Edmonstone then dwelt on the character of the tract, and read a translation of it, which had been made for the information of Government, and detailed the circumstances connected with its discovery. The son of a Mogul merchant in Calcutta having received a copy of it, had given it to the Moonshee of Mr. Matthew Lumsden, the Arabic and Persian professor in the College, with a request that he would draw up a reply to it. The Moonshee placed it in the hands of his master, who happened to be the brother of the member of council who had succeeded Mr. Udny, and it was thus brought under the notice of the political secretary. Mr. Edmonstone pro-

ceeded to remark on those parts of the pamphlet which were considered inflammatory and dangerous. Dr. Carey replied, that he by no means approved of the use of abusive language in reference to the religion of Mahomed, or its founder; that no good could result from it, because it was calculated not to convince, but to irritate an opponent, and that such was not the practice of the missionaries in their intercourse with the heathen. He assured Mr. Edmonstone that they were desirous, in all things, to conform to the wishes of Government; and he expressed his earnest hope that it was not the intention of the British authorities to prohibit them from labouring for the conversion of the natives by the only means they were disposed to use—fair argument and persuasion. The secretary said he was not authorised to state the wishes of Government on this point, but as far as he was able to judge, Government, as the guardian of the public safety, would consider it incumbent to adopt such measures as were necessary to counteract whatever tended to endanger that safety. Dr. Carey then voluntarily engaged, if it was considered necessary, to submit for the approval of Government whatever publication it was proposed to issue from the Serampore press, to which the secretary replied, with some hauteur, that he was not authorised to signify either the acceptance or rejection of such a proposal. Dr. Carey then withdrew, after having assured Mr. Edmonstone that measures would be immediately adopted to suppress the pamphlet which had appeared obnoxious to Government.

Dr. Carey transmitted a report of this conversation without delay to Serampore, and desired the fullest explanation of the circumstances connected with the pamphlet. He learned from the reply of his brethren, that they had already been made acquainted with the displeasure of Government. Lord Minto had forwarded to Col. Krefting, the Governor of Serampore, a translation of the pamphlet, with a letter

The Government
addresses the Go-
vernor of Seram-
pore.

stating that its style and tenor could produce no other effect than to irritate the minds and inflame the zeal of the Mahomedans; that their duty, as guardians of the public safety, would alone require them to prevent the diffusion of such a publication, but that an additional obligation was imposed on them by the necessity of maintaining the faith, repeatedly pledged under the express injunctions of the Legislature of England, to leave their native subjects in the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of their religion. The letter stated that Government had not determined, as yet, on the ulterior measures to be pursued to preserve the public tranquillity and vindicate the national faith; but, as an object of immediate urgency, they requested that the further distribution of the inflammatory pamphlet should be interdicted, that the missionaries should surrender all the copies left, and state in what manner and to what extent it had been circulated. This public despatch was communicated by Col. Kreffting to the missionaries, who expressed their extreme regret that any publication should have issued from their press calculated to irritate the minds of the natives. They explained that about three months before, they had delivered to a Mahomedan Moonshee who had embraced Christianity, a short abstract of the life of Mahomet, in the Bengalee language, taken almost verbatim from the preliminary dissertation of Sale's Koran, to be translated into Persian. The confidence they reposed in the Moonshee, induced them to put the translation to press without a previous revision, and they now found, to their regret, that he had foisted in epithets which did not exist in the original,—designating Mahomet a tyrant,—and had also materially altered the character of the tract by the introduction of remarks, with the zeal of a new convert, which were calculated to give umbrage to the Mahomedans. They remarked that although this circumstance did not exonerate them, in the smallest degree, from the responsibility of the publication, yet it might

The explanations
of the missionaries.

serve to vindicate them from the suspicion of being indifferent to the public peace. They stated that the Christian religion expressly disallowed the use of irritating expressions for its propagation, and that if they were to pursue a different course in their missionary labours, they should not only violate the principle of attachment to the British Government, but act contrary to the dictates of common sense, and the genius of Christianity. They then appealed to His Excellency's personal experience, and asked with confidence whether, during the eight years in which they had enjoyed the protection of the Danish Crown, their conduct, whether as individuals or as a body, had not been in accordance with these sentiments. They proceeded to state, that the edition of the obnoxious pamphlet consisted of 2000 copies, 1700 of which remained in store, and were now sent to him to be surrendered to the British Government, and they pledged themselves not to issue it again in any form. This letter from the missionaries was transmitted to Lord Minto by Col. Krefting, in conjunction with one from himself, in which he expressed his earnest hope, "that no further measures would be taken in this matter, as he was ready, on the first application from the British Government, to check any abuses that might arise."

The anti-missionary party, now in the ascendant in the council chamber, had obtained complete possession of the mind of the Governor-General within the first month of his arrival in India; and the time Proceedings of Government. appeared to be favourable for an attempt to root up the Mission altogether. How far that personal indifference to Christian truth which a long residence in India, amidst idolatrous associations, tended to create, and which almost imperceptibly ripened into hostility, was mixed up in the minds of this party with a sincere dread of the danger of missionary zeal, it might appear invidious to inquire; but the ostensible motive for this crusade was a patriotic regard for the public safety. The members of Government appear to have thought that they had suddenly

detected a great missionary conspiracy which threatened the loss of the British empire, and required to be treated with promptitude and severity. After Dr. Carey's interview with the secretaries they sent for Mr. Blacquiere, the magistrate, — than whom there was only one man in Calcutta, Mr. Martyn, more suitable for such a duty, — and desired him to ascertain and report on the proceedings of the missionaries in "disseminating pamphlets, and in meetings stated to be held in the town of Calcutta for the purpose of exposing to the natives the error of their religion, and of persuading them to adopt the Christian faith." Mr. Blacquiere, thus placed on the scent by Government, "directed a brahmin in his service to attend the missionaries, under a pretended desire to become a convert, and to obtain copies of their publications." The brahmin called on Mr. Ward, under the guise of an inquirer, and obtained eleven pamphlets. This clandestine proceeding towards men who were not political conspirators, but Christian missionaries, appeared perfectly justifiable in the eyes of Government, and was subsequently reported, without any extenuation, by Lord Minto to the Court of Directors. The pamphlets which appeared most likely to answer the end in view were translated with extraordinary speed. One of these, "The Gospel Messenger," had been compiled, as before stated, by Ram-bosoo, a half-converted Hindoo, and thousands of copies of it had been circulated in the last four years. Another was simply a comparison of the incarnations of Krishnu with the actions of Christ, as the natives were often led, by the similarity of names, to confound the Redeemer with the Hindoo god. On the following Sunday, the 6th of September, Mr. Blacquiere sent another of his spies to watch the proceedings of the missionaries in the little chapel in the Chitpore Road. He reported that an elderly Bengalee arose, and, after an allusion to Judistheer, dwelt on the wicked life which the brahmins and other persons of respectability led, under the impulse of their own evil inclinations.

He then questioned the existence of any difference between brahmins and other men, seeing they were both liable to sin, and asked why the soodras and others should be required to expiate their guilt, and not the brahmins, adding that the brahmins could not forgive sin, and that the annual religious festivals rather served to produce transgression than to expiate it. The informer further reported that a European then ascended the pulpit and preached to the congregation, which consisted of Armenians and native Portuguese, some men and some women, but, with the exception of two converted natives, there were neither Hindoos nor Mahomedans in the room. A crowd of natives was collected at the door, but there was not a single person of respectability among them; all whom he recognised were living a disreputable life.

Two days after, the Supreme Council met as usual, and Mr. Edmonstone presented the deposition of the informer and the translation of the tracts, stating that they contained strictures on the Hindoo deities, which tended to exhibit them in a hateful and disgusting light, and dwelt on the fallacy of the Hindoo mythology, and exhorted the natives to embrace Christianity. He also informed the Council that two of the pamphlets, one in Bengalee, and the other in Hindoostanee, contained the same or similar abuse of the doctrines of Mahomedanism which appeared in the Persian pamphlet, which, however, was not correct, as the original tract was free from the interpolations of the Moonshee. The Council then proceeded to deliberate on the perilous position of the British empire in India, as disclosed by the distribution of tracts, — which had been circulated for years with perfect impunity, — and the preaching in the Chitpore Road — that is, “to a few Armenians and Portuguese, and a rabble of disreputable characters,” — and they recorded their solemn conviction, that “the distribution of tracts, and the practice of preaching to the multitude were evidently calculated to excite among the native subjects of

Orders of Government to suppress missionary efforts.

the Company a spirit of religious jealousy and alarm, which might eventually be productive of the most serious evils, and that Government was bound by every consideration of general safety, and national faith and honour, to suppress, within the limits of the Company's authority in India, treatises and public preachings offensive to the religious persuasions of the people," — in other words, to suppress the missionary undertaking altogether.

It was determined, therefore, immediately to prohibit all preaching in Calcutta in the native language, and to break up the Press at Serampore. The execution of the order "to discontinue the practice of preaching in the house engaged for that purpose" was intrusted to Mr. Dowdeswell, the superintendent of police, whose feelings towards the missionaries were no secret. At the same time the following letter was addressed to Dr. Carey, prohibiting those services, and desiring that the Press should be removed to Calcutta without delay:—

Preaching prohibited, and the Press ordered to Calcutta.

"To the Reverend W. Carey.

"SIR, — The substance of your replies to the verbal communications which I had the honour to state to you on the 2nd instant, by direction of Government, having been reported to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, I am directed to request that you will communicate to the Society of Missionaries the observations and suggestions contained in this Address.

"Since the day of your attendance at the Chief Secretary's office, various pamphlets and treatises in the Bengalee and Hindustani languages, containing strictures on the religions of the Hindus and Mussulmans, and purporting to have issued from the press at Serampore, have been submitted to Government: among them are two pamphlets, one in the Bengalee, the other in the Hindustani language, addressed exclusively to the class of Mahomedans; containing the same or similar abuse of the doctrines, books, and founder of the Mahomedan religion, as is contained in the Persian pamphlet from which I read to you a translated extract.

"The Governor-General in Council has also been informed that

the practice of public preaching on topics of that nature, prevails at a house engaged for that purpose by the missionaries in the town of Calcutta.

“The issue of publications and the public delivery of discourses of the nature above described, are evidently calculated to produce consequences in the highest degree detrimental to the tranquillity of the British dominions in India, and it becomes the indispensable duty of the British Government to arrest the progress of any proceedings of that nature. In the present instance, this obligation is enforced by the necessity of maintaining the public faith, which, under the express injunctions of the Legislature, has been repeatedly pledged to leave the native subjects of the Company in India, in the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of their respective religions. To permit the issue and diffusion of printed treatises, and the delivery of public discourses in the languages of the country, replete with the most direct and unqualified abuse of the principles and tenets of the religion of the people, is manifestly authorising an opposition to the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of it.

“Upon these grounds the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council deems it necessary to desire that the practice of preaching at the house employed for that purpose in the town of Calcutta, be immediately discontinued.

“The Governor-General in Council also deems it his duty to prohibit the issue of any publications from the press, superintended by the Society of Missionaries, of a nature offensive to the religious prejudices of the natives, or, directed to the object of converting them to Christianity; observing, that whatever may be the propriety of exposing the errors of the Hindu or Mussulman religions to persons of those persuasions who may solicit instruction in the doctrines of the Christian faith, it is contrary to the system of protection which Government is pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religions of the country, and calculated to produce very dangerous effects, to obtrude upon the general body of the people, by means of printed works, exhortations necessarily involving an interference with those religious tenets which they consider to be sacred and inviolable.

“The Governor-General in Council further observes, that the press now established at Serampore, being intended for the promulgation of works within the limits of the Company's dominions, it is indispensably necessary that its productions should be subject to the immediate control of the officers of Government. With this view I am directed to desire, that you will signify to the

missionaries the expectation of the Governor-General in Council, that the press be transferred to this Presidency, where alone the same control that is established over presses sanctioned by the Government can be duly exercised.

"I am further directed to desire, that you will ascertain and report to Government in what manner and in what places the pamphlets and treatises to which this letter refers, or any other of a similar description which may not yet have come under the observation of Government, have been distributed; and also that the missionaries will employ every effort in their power to withdraw them from circulation.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

"Secretary to Government.

"Fort William, 8th Sept. 1807."

Well might Dr. Carey exclaim, on perusing the despatch, that "such a letter was never written by any Government before. Roman Catholics have persecuted other Christians under the name of heretics, but no Christian Government, that I know of, has prohibited attempts to spread Christianity among the Heathen." It must not be forgotten that as soon as Dr. Carey became aware of the alarm which had been created among the members of Government, he offered, of his own accord, to submit all the publications of the press to Government in future before they were issued. There was, therefore, no necessity for removing the press to Calcutta, as a security against the publication of pamphlets which the Government might consider dangerous. It was well known to the members of Government that the press was so essential to the existence of the Mission, that the removal of it would be tantamount to the breaking up of the missionary establishment at Serampore. It was to compass this object that the alarmists took advantage of the Vellore panic, and Lord Minto's inexperience, and his ignorance of the conduct of the missionaries for the last seven years, and in the course of a single week hurried him onward from the determination to

Reflections on
this order.

suppress missionary tracts, to the issue of an order which must have paralysed the Mission itself. Under the influence of these violent counsels, he was led to demand the removal of a press, which the records of his own Government told him was under the protection of a foreign power. It is true that the expression used in Mr. Edmonstone's letter was, that the Government "expected" the transfer of the press to the Presidency; but such an intimation of the wishes of a powerful Government, to one so feeble as that of Serampore, was tantamount to a demand. Had Lord Minto allowed himself time for reflection, he must have perceived that he only compromised the dignity of his own Government by a request which he could not enforce, without a violation of the law of nations. He might reasonably demand the suppression of publications which were considered likely to endanger the safety of the British dominion, but the demand of the press itself, which was decided upon at a single sitting of Council, admits of no justification, and is feebly palliated by a reference to the morbid terrors of the Council Chamber. It requires, moreover, to be distinctly remarked, that this is the first instance in which the Government of India brought forward the plea of being bound by a *pledge* to grant the natives the undisturbed exercise of their "respective religions." No such pledge was ever exacted by the natives, or granted by our Government. British rule was established in India by the sword, and the sword alone; and at no period were the conquerors in a position which obliged them to give pledges to the conquered. In accordance with its own enlightened views, the British Government had voluntarily prescribed to itself certain principles of action in reference to the religion and customs of the natives; of its own free will had it granted to them the benefit of religious toleration. To assert the existence of a pledge to allow the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of the native religions; and then to maintain that any "effort directed to the object of con-

verting the natives to Christianity," was a violation of that pledge, was, in fact, to assert that Government had solemnly pledged itself to resist every effort to Christianise the country, — which is simply absurd.

The order regarding the press reached Serampore on the 11th of September, and filled the minds of the missionaries with dismay. They felt that the transfer of it to Calcutta must break up the Mission. The mere expense of living in the metropolis would have been ruinous. The Mission would, moreover, have been deprived of the protection of a foreign and friendly power, which, at the time, was doubly valuable, and placed under the control of a police, worked by Mr. Dowdeswell and Mr. Blacquiere. As the avowed object of removing the press was to repress all attempts to convert the natives, all the movements of the missionaries would have been watched with jealousy, and exposed to constant interruption. The Mission premises would have been constantly besieged by Mr. Blacquiere's spies. On the arrival of the public letter, therefore, they held a meeting to supplicate the Divine guidance at this crisis. They then waited on the Governor with it, and he expressed no little surprise that the British authorities should have thought fit to issue such an order, before they had received his reply to their communication. He was justly offended that the missionaries should have been dealt with as though they were living within the British jurisdiction, and that a communication so deeply affecting the independence of the settlement, should not have been made in the first instance to him. He was indignant that Lord Minto should interfere with a missionary establishment which the King of Denmark had taken under his especial protection. From the Governor's residence they proceeded to Aldeen, to consult Mr. Brown, and it was resolved that Dr. Carey should simply acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Edmonstone's letter, and that a memorial should hereafter be presented to the Governor.

Natural result of
this order.

General in Council. The next day Mr. Ward went, as usual, to Calcutta, when the Armenian friends called on him to inquire how they should act. He stated that he and his colleagues were positively forbidden to preach to them, and that they must conduct the services among themselves. Mr. Ward observes on these occurrences, in his journal, that "the Doorga-poojah, the most magnificent idolatrous festival in Calcutta, would, in a few days, be celebrated with pomp and splendour; that all public offices would be closed, and public business suspended for eight or ten days; and that the mansions of opulent natives would be thrown open for the reception of European guests, to witness the dances before the idol; and that hundreds of splendid processions would be paraded through the Chitpore road, and pass in front of the house of Christian prayer, which had just been closed by the orders of a Christian Government."

A week after the date of Mr. Edmonstone's letter to Dr. Carey, a communication, signed by Lord Minto and the two members of council, was sent to Col. Krefting, acknowledging with thanks the mea-
Proceedings of the missionaries.
sures he had adopted, in conformity with their request, for the suppression of publications obnoxious to the religious persuasions of the natives of India. They proceeded to acquaint him that they had been subsequently informed of the distribution of other pamphlets and books, with strictures on the religion of the Hindoos and Mahomedans; and that it appeared "obviously regular and highly expedient that the press of the missionaries should be placed under the immediate control of the Government of India." A copy of the letter addressed to Dr. Carey was enclosed, and the Governor-General trusted that "his Excellency would not only concur in the expediency of the measure they had adopted, but withhold his consent to the establishment of any other press under the Danish flag." Such were the terms of this arrogant dictation to the representative of an independent European sovereign. The

letter concluded with the gratuitous assertion that the missionaries had themselves acknowledged that other works in the native languages had issued from their press, besides the Persian pamphlet, the contents of which were previously unknown to them—an acknowledgment they had never made. This letter Col. Krefting immediately communicated to the missionaries, who held another prayer-meeting, at which Dr. Carey was so deeply affected, that "he wept like a child." They then waited on the Governor, and he assured them of his determination not to allow the press to be removed, which, indeed, he could not have permitted without incurring the condemnation of his own Court. He stated, that if the British Government resorted to any measures of compulsion, he would strike his flag, and leave the settlement in its possession, but that he would endeavour, in the first place, to procure a reversal of the order by conciliation. Dr. Carey and Mr. Marshman agreed to leave the matter in his hands, and to refrain from any further communication with Government. But Mr. Ward did not consider this determination wise or prudent, and immediately sent his brethren the following minute of his views:—"I have a great deal of hesitation in my mind respecting our remaining in sullen silence after the English Government have addressed us through Brother Carey and the Governor. As it respects ourselves, even if we are not compelled to go to Calcutta with our press, the having them as our avowed and exasperated enemies is no small calamity. They may deprive us of Brother Carey's salary, with which we can hardly get on now, and without which we must put an end to the translations, and go to jail in debt. They can shut up the new meeting at Calcutta; they can stop the circulation of our Grammars, Dictionaries, and everything issued from this press in their dominions; they can prohibit our entering their territories. As it respects Col. Krefting, we ought to deprecate the idea of embroiling him with the English Government, if we can possibly avoid it. I think, there-

fore, as we can now officially through him address the British Government, we should entreat their clemency, and endeavour to soften them. Tender words, with the consciences of men on our side, go a long way. We can tell them that to take the press to Calcutta would involve us in a heavy and unbearable expense, and break up our family, and that we will give them every security they would wish, by subjecting our press to the absolute control and inspection of the Government here; nay, that we are willing to do everything they wish us, except that of renouncing our work and character as Ministers of the Saviour of the world. To this Col. Krefting can add what he likes. If they listen to this we are secured, with all the advantages of their sufferance. If they are obstinate, we are still at Serampore. I entreat you, dear brethren, to weigh these things, and give them all the attention that our awful circumstances require."

Mr. Ward's proposal met with the approbation of his colleagues, and it was resolved to present a supplicatory memorial to the Governor-General. At the same time, Mr. Ward renewed, with much im-
Interview with
Lord Minto.
portunity, the advice he had previously given them to seek a personal interview with Lord Minto, whom, as yet, they had not been introduced to. He urged that the Moravian missionaries never omitted to cultivate a good understanding with the Governors, wherever their Missions were planted, by making themselves personally known to them, and explaining their plans of operation. Thus, said he, prejudices are disarmed, and the designs of enemies baffled. On the present occasion, a personal communication with Lord Minto would dispose him to receive the memorial more favourably. While they were deliberating on this proposal, they received a visit from Dr. Leyden, the renowned orientalist, and, before his arrival in India, the friend and literary associate of Walter Scott. He came out on the medical establishment of Madras, and proceeded to Calcutta on the invitation of Lord Minto, in whose

estimation he stood high, and whose confidence he to a certain extent enjoyed. A congeniality of literary tastes had led to a very intimate intercourse with Mr. Marshman. The missionaries explained their difficulties to him, and sought his counsel, and he very warmly supported Mr. Ward's advice, urging that Dr. Carey and Mr. Marshman should wait in person on Lord Minto, on the next day, as the translators of the Ramayun, and present him with a copy of that work. Dr. Leyden remarked, that if there should not be an opportunity of introducing the subject of their present embarrassments at this interview, still the circumstance of their going into the presence of the Governor-General would show him that they did not desire to conceal themselves from any consciousness of guilt. Mr. Marshman immediately accompanied Dr. Leyden to Calcutta, and consulted Dr. Carey, who highly approved of the proposal of a personal visit. Lord Minto received them the next day with his usual affability, and they soon felt themselves at ease in the presence of the man on whom their fate depended. Dr. Carey asked his lordship's acceptance of a copy of the Ramayun, which they had translated into English, and likewise offered him any other of the literary works which had issued from their press. Mr. Marshman then broke the subject of their visit, by asking permission to present a private memorial to him. Lord Minto drew back at a request which recalled to his mind the letter to the Governor of Serampore, regarding the Serampore missionaries, which he had signed only a few days before, and he coloured up for a moment, but did not hesitate to assure them that he would receive it. The ice of officiality having been thus broken, the conversation became less reserved. They explained to Lord Minto the origin and progress of the Mission, the degree of success which had attended their labours, and the course of action they had adopted, and delicately brought the conversation round to the object of the audience—the ruin with which all their missionary plans were threatened by

the order to transfer the press to Calcutta. Lord Minto asked a number of questions, assured them that he felt no hostility to them or to their undertaking, and said that he thought the conversion of the natives, in a quiet way, a desirable object, but feared there was danger of provoking the Mahomedans. He mentioned that he had heard of the Mission through Lord Spencer, and observed that it was expected that missionaries should have a little enthusiasm in them, and feel more warmly on the subject of converting the heathen than worldly men; and, moreover, that they should be able sometimes to bear the frowns of men in power. Twenty minutes were thus passed in friendly conversation. As they rose to depart, he said they must be aware that a private paper, such as they intended to send him, could not be brought on the records of Government, but he promised to peruse it with attention, and to place it in the hands of his colleagues. They left him with a strong hope that their object was already half gained. They had apparently counteracted the impression which the anti-missionary party had created in his mind, — that they were a body of wild fanatics, determined to push the conversion of the natives, though it might set India in a flame, and whom it was necessary therefore to place under the most vigorous restrictions. They had obtained permission to present a memorial which Lord Minto had engaged to peruse before he went to the Council Board, and it was hoped he would enter on the discussion of the question with feelings not unfavourably disposed to them.

Mr. Marshman returned to Serampore, and sat down to the preparation of the memorial on which the existence of the Mission was supposed to hang. He felt the importance of the crisis, and weighed every argument and expression with extraordinary care; and the document may be said to present a favourable example of the skill with which he could handle a difficult question. It began by saying that the missionaries entreated permission to submit to him a full and unreserved state-

Memorial of the
missionaries to
Government.

ment of their situation, circumstances, and views, humbly casting themselves on his lordship's clemency, and imploring such relief as his candour and wisdom and attachment to the Protestant religion might suggest. The memorialists then described the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society in England in 1792, the arrival of Mr. Carey and Mr. Thomas, the settlement of the Mission in Serampore under the patronage of the King of Denmark, the translation and printing of the Scriptures in Bengalee, the distribution of tracts and pamphlets, and their missionary itineraries. They then alluded to the kindness they had experienced from Lord Wellesley, and the satisfaction he had expressed that the press was devoted to the printing of the Scriptures and religious works, and that their labours had been attended with success. They spoke also of the gracious manner in which His Majesty George the Third had been pleased to accept a copy of the Bengalee New Testament and Pentateuch. They remarked, that in the course of their missionary labours they had baptised a hundred natives, of whom twelve were Brahmins and sixteen of the writer caste, and five Mahomedans. They went on to remark that highly as they esteemed the principle which guaranteed to the natives the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of their different religions and opinions, they were unconscious of having violated it, inasmuch as the most solemn engagements of this nature were never supposed to preclude religious discussions; and they believed that a Protestant nation, however averse to coercion, could not fail to desire that its heathen subjects might receive instruction in some safe and prudent manner. The memorial then adverted to the confirmation these views received from the provision made in the Charter of 1698, which directed that the ministers of the Honourable Company should learn the Portuguese and native languages, to enable them to instruct the Gentoos in the Christian religion; as well as the approbation given by George the First to the labours

of Zigenbalg and Grundler on the Coast. They brought forward the still more recent instance of the cenotaph which the Court of Directors had ordered to be erected in the Settlement Church at Madras, to the memory of the most eminent of modern missionaries, Schwartz; directing that the inscription should be translated into the different languages of the country, in order that their admiration of his character might be universally known. With regard to the little chapel in the Chitpore road they stated that it had been opened at the request of some Armenians and Portuguese, who were unable to receive Christian instruction, except through the medium of Bengalee, and they deeply regretted to find that a compliance with their request had been represented as an attempt to inflame the minds of the natives and to disturb the public tranquillity, and had thus led to the closing of its doors. Reverting to the danger which had been apprehended from the productions of their press, they enumerated all the pamphlets which had issued from it, describing their contents and character, and they explained more particularly the circumstances under which the obnoxious epithets had crept into the Persian tract, to which the attention of Government had been directed. They further stated that they were under engagements to the public for the translation and printing of the Scriptures in six languages, that the premises and establishment at Serampore had cost 60,000 rupees, which must be, in a great measure, sacrificed by the transfer of the press to Calcutta, where they could not obtain premises suitable to their operations under 1000 rupees a month. They concluded by stating that on a review of the circumstances and position of the Mission and of their families, they could not contemplate such a removal to the metropolis without the utmost dread, as involving their inevitable ruin.

This able memorial was signed by the whole body of missionaries, and sent over to Lord Minto at his country-seat at Barrackpore, opposite Serampore, on Thursday

the 1st of October. The perusal of it enabled him to form an independent and impartial judgment of the case before he went to the council chamber. It was read the next day at the Board, together with Col. Krefting's reply to the communication which had been addressed to him relative to the removal of the press. Col. Krefting stated in his letter that he had prescribed such rules for the missionaries as would effectually prevent in future the issue of any tracts of an objectionable character. Having thus manifested his readiness to meet the views of his lordship, he trusted that the British Government would desist from demanding the transfer of the press to the Presidency, which would not only ruin the missionaries, but prove detrimental to the interests of his Danish Majesty's settlement. On the perusal of these two documents, the Supreme Council, at the suggestion of Lord Minto, passed a resolution revoking the press order, and simply requiring the missionaries to submit works intended for circulation in the British dominions to the inspection of the officers of the British Government. The spirit of the letter which embodied this resolution, presented an agreeable contrast to the supercilious tone of Mr. Edmonstone's personal communication with Dr. Carey, and the peremptory character of the public letter regarding the press. "On this occasion," says the secretary, "I am directed to state that the Governor-General in Council is fully convinced of the rectitude of the intentions of the Society of Missionaries, and that the precautions which Government deems it necessary to adopt against the unlimited employment of the press proceed exclusively from the duty imposed on Government of reserving to itself the authority of determining what publications may or may not expose the public tranquillity to hazard, or involve a violation of the public faith, instead of leaving the decision of such important questions to the judgment of others."

This was felt to be a most signal deliverance from impending ruin, and the missionaries, after having held a

meeting of thanksgiving to Him who holds the hearts of princes in his hand, went down to Calcutta to return their thanks to Lord Minto, when he remarked "that nothing more was necessary than a mere examination of the subject, when everything had appeared in a clear and favourable light." The storm which at one time threatened to destroy the Mission was thus dispersed, and the imposition of some minor restrictions, which it was hoped would gradually die out, seemed to improve the position of the missionaries, by leaving them unfettered in other respects. The favourable change which now rejoiced their hearts was to be attributed, under God, to the peaceable and judicious conduct of the three at Serampore in bending to the necessity of circumstances, and endeavouring to conciliate those who possessed despotic power, and were at one time disposed to use it tyrannically. It was the irresistible might of Christian meekness which carried them safely through this crisis. "The crests of our enemies," writes Dr. Carey, "are fallen, for as soon as the orders of Government for the removal of the press became public, there was no small exultation among the enemies of religion at the prospect of having the whole missionary establishment placed in Calcutta under the eye of a jealous and arbitrary Government, and exposed to the intrusion of any informer. The report soon spread among the natives, and numerous were the signs of triumph they exhibited when they were told that the Government had determined to banish the missionaries for destroying the caste of the people. As the circumstance of our dispersing pamphlets in the Company's dominions is recognised in their letter of revocation, we shall feel no delicacy in distributing them; and as we wish to avoid everything inflammatory, and have a genuine desire to promote the tranquillity of the country, I have no doubt we shall be permitted to print nearly all we wish. Our public work will not be greatly interrupted by this occurrence, and I have reason to hope that the obstacles which yet remain

Gratitude of the missionaries.

will be gradually removed. Perhaps our situation is now even better than it was before. There are, however, many in this country who would rejoice to see Christianity wholly expelled from it, and particularly to see any embarrassment thrown in our way. We therefore have no security but in God."

On the 2nd of November the Governor-General in council transmitted his report of these proceedings to the Court of Directors. The despatch, drawn up by Mr. Edmonstone, was intended to justify the extraordinary course which had been pursued. The independence of a foreign flag had been invaded; a printing establishment, known to be under the especial protection of a foreign prince, had been ordered to be removed from his territories; and his representative had been requested not to allow the establishment of another press in the settlement. These proceedings were stated in the despatch to have been adopted through the imperative necessity of providing for the safety of the British empire in the East, yet the order had been revoked upon a representation of the injury it would inflict on the missionary establishment. If the simple inspection of publications before they issued from the Mission Press was deemed sufficient to provide for the safety of the empire, Dr. Carey had voluntarily offered, at the very commencement of these discussions, to make this concession, and the demand for the removal of the press was altogether redundant. The despatch recapitulated the proceedings of Government, step by step, and rested the defence of them on the duty of maintaining the public tranquillity, and the national faith: two expressions which were reiterated in almost every page of the despatch. The essence of this elaborate communication was contained in the following paragraph:—"That the publications in question, and the practice of preaching to the multitude, were evidently calculated to excite among the native subjects of the Company a spirit of religious jealousy and

Communication
on this subject to
the Court of Directors.

alarm, which might be eventually productive of the most serious evils; that the distribution of such publications, and the public preachings of the missionaries and their proselytes, at the very seat of Government, were acts tending to indicate that the proceedings of the missionaries, in vilifying the religions of the country, were sanctioned and approved by the supreme authority; that the prevalence of such an impression would both augment the danger and render more difficult the application of a remedy; that it was of the highest importance, therefore, to adopt without delay such measures as were calculated to preclude a conjuncture so hazardous to the prosperity and even security of these dominions; and, finally, that the obligation to suppress, within the limits of the Company's authority in India, treatises and public preachings offensive to the religious persuasions of the people, was founded on considerations of necessary caution, of general safety, and of national faith and honour." The despatch then adverted to "the entire conviction of the Council of the correctness of the statement contained in the memorial of the missionaries relative to the motives and objects of their zeal for the propagation of the sacred doctrines of Christianity," and stated, that "our duty as guardians of the public welfare, and a consentaneous solicitude for the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity, merely require us to restrain the efforts of that commendable zeal within their proper limits." But it concluded with the strange request that the Court would prevent any accession in future to the number of missionaries; on the ground that "the meritorious spirit of religious zeal which animates these respectable persons, who deem it their duty to exert their efforts to diffuse among the misguided natives of India the truths and blessings of the Christian faith, can seldom be restrained by those maxims of prudence and caution which local knowledge and experience alone can inspire, and without which the labours of the missionaries become a source of danger, and tend to frus-

trate, rather than to promote the benevolent object of their mission."

This despatch remained at the India House without notice for many months, and Mr. Robert Dundas, the

Reply of the Indian authorities.

President of the Board of Control, whose interesting conversation with Mr. Fuller has been already given, at length drew up the draft of a reply, and sent it for the approval of the India House. In writing on this subject to India, Mr. Charles Grant remarked, "the answer is better than the majority of the Court would have dictated, and it is so from the interference of the Board of Control. It is a qualified, lukewarm approbation of what was done, but with great respect for the general principle of introducing the Gospel into India, and with clear intimations of doing no more against the persons in question than necessity absolutely requires." In the letter sent with the draft, the President remarked, very significantly, that "it could not be expected, that on a subject so interesting to the feelings of every man connected with India, or with its concerns, the members of the Court of Directors should be wholly exempt from strong prepossessions, or be able to divest themselves entirely of preconceived opinions." The despatch itself was written in a spirit of great official caution, and manifested a just appreciation of the position and responsibilities of the Government in India, but it breathed a feeling of friendliness towards the missionaries and their enterprise by no means in accordance with the prevailing prejudices of Leadenhall Street. It stated that whatever was connected with the introduction of Christianity into India could not but be felt as a circumstance of the greatest importance and delicacy, and the Court—by whom the despatch was to be adopted and signed—lamented that anything should have occurred to call for the interference of Government in matters of that description. The Court wished it to be understood that they were far from being adverse to the introduction of Christianity into India, or

indifferent to the benefits which would result from the general diffusion of its doctrines; but they believed that nothing could be more unwise and impolitic, or more likely to frustrate the object in view, than any imprudent or injudicious attempt to introduce it by means that should create irritation and alarm. Some of the pamphlets published by the missionaries were calculated to produce such an effect, and the Court approved of the measures taken to prevent the circulation of them. At the same time the despatch passed a high encomium on the temperate and respectful conduct of the Society of Missionaries in the discussions which had taken place; and entirely approved of the permission granted them to remain at Serampore. "If indeed," said the despatch, "you had foreseen that entire and ready submission to Government, which their conduct had manifested, we think you would have doubted the expediency of holding a public proceeding on the transaction." This was as severe a condemnation of the conduct of Lord Minto and his colleagues as could have been inflicted on them, for, in the letter to which this was a reply, they had themselves acknowledged that the missionaries manifested the most ready submission to Government before any proceeding whatever was held. The despatch then directed, that if upon any future occasion, any precautionary measures should become indispensable, and the interference of Government should again be required, it would be desirable in the first instance to see whether a private communication with the missionaries might not effect the object without bringing into view the instrumentality of Government. The Governor-General had requested that the Court would prevent the embarkation of any more missionaries; this officious advice was dismissed with the curt remark:—"You are, of course, aware that many of the meritorious individuals who have devoted themselves to those labours were not British subjects, or living under our authority; and that none of the missionaries have proceeded to Bengal with our license."

But the most important and gratifying portion of this despatch was contained in the following sentence :—"Enter-
taining the sentiments which we have expressed in the preceding parts of this despatch, we are very far from disapproving of your having refrained from resorting to the authority vested in you by law, and enforcing its provisions in all its strictness against the missionaries; and we rely on your discretion, that you will abstain from all unnecessary and ostentatious interference with their proceedings."

CHAP. VII.

THE attempt to root up the Serampore Mission, and to extinguish all missionary efforts in India, was not confined to that country. Towards the close of 1807, the most strenuous and unscrupulous exertions were made in London to compass the same object. The battle of Missions, as it may aptly be termed, raged with great violence for many months, and occasioned the publication of more than twenty-five pamphlets. The circumstances of the times appeared to be favourable for the execution of a design which “old Indians,” even in their retirement to opulence and ease in England, never lost sight of. The successes of Napoleon on the Continent, and the struggle, apparently for existence, which England was then called to maintain, rendered the public sensitive of every alarm, and disposed men to the adoption of whatever measures might be suggested by experience for the protection of any portion of the empire. The Vellore mutiny had produced a profound sensation in England, and prepared the community to receive, with little inquiry, any representation which alarmists might make regarding the perils of our empire in India. It was at this season of general anxiety, that the existence of our power in India was affirmed, by those who had passed their lives in that country, to be in the most imminent peril from the exertions of the Missionaries, “who were invading the dearest rights, and wounding the tenderest feelings of the natives.” The campaign was opened in London by Mr. Thomas Twining, the son of the opulent tea-dealer, who had

Hostility to
Missions in
England.

been employed for thirteen years, from 1792 to 1805, in various departments in the Civil service at the Bengal Presidency. He now came forward with a letter to Mr. Parry, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, stating that "he had recently heard, with infinite concern and alarm, of proceedings which conveyed to his humble apprehension evidence of a strong disposition, in a quarter, too, where its existence was most to be dreaded, to interfere with the religious opinions of the natives." His "fear of attempts to disturb the religious systems of India" had been especially excited by hearing that a Society existed in England — the Bible Society — the chief object of which was the universal dissemination of the Christian faith, particularly among the nations of the East. He said that "if a Society having such objects did exist, and if the leading members of the Society were also members of the East India Company, and its President a member of the Board of Control, then our possessions in the East were already in a situation of the most imminent and unprecedented peril; and no less a danger than the threatened extermination of our Eastern sovereignty commanded us to step forward and arrest the progress of such rash and unprecedented proceedings." To substantiate this statement, he referred to the progress which had been made in the translation and printing of the Scriptures at Serampore, and the aid which the Bible Society had resolved to offer to the Oriental translations of the Scriptures. He treated the labours of the Missionaries as a source of great danger to the Indian empire. Copious extracts were also given from Mr. Buchanan's Memoir, in which he had urged the expediency of promoting the moral and religious improvement of our Indian subjects; and Mr. Twining dwelt with particular emphasis and indignation on the expression which Mr. Buchanan had very imprudently introduced into it: "A wise policy seems to demand that we should use every means of *coercing* this

Mr. Twining's
pamphlet.

contemptuous spirit of our native subjects ;” adding in a note, “Gracious Heaven ! what sentiments are here sent forth amidst the population of our provinces in India.” Mr. Twining’s letter closed with the following remarks : “The religious opinions of the natives of India is a subject on which my feelings are particularly alive, not merely from the interest I take in whatever relates to the happiness of the natives, but from my extreme apprehension of the fatal consequences to ourselves from any interference in their religious opinions. . . . If ever the fatal day shall arrive when religious Innovation shall set her foot in that country, indignation will spread from one end of Hindoostan to the other ; and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of the globe with as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind ;” and he therefore expressed his hope that “our native subjects in the East would be permitted quietly to follow their own religious opinions, their own religious prejudices and absurdities, till it shall please the Omnipotent power of Heaven to lead them into the paths of Light and Truth.”

Mr. Twining’s assault was promptly and ably met by Mr. Owen, the great Secretary of the Bible Society. He began by stating in his pamphlet that as the author had not only given his name in the second edition of his pamphlet, but announced his intention of bringing the matter it contained, in concurrence with many other respectable proprietors, under the consideration of a General Court, he considered it a duty he owed to the Bible Society, the Company, and the public, to submit some remarks on that extraordinary publication to the Chairman. He pointed out the error into which Mr. Twining had fallen, of supposing that the Bible Society had for its chief object “the universal dissemination of the Christian faith,” and he showed by a reference to its fundamental rules that it had but one definite object, which was altogether unobjectionable—

Reply to Mr.
Twining by
Mr. Owen.

“the circulation of the Scriptures, not in India and the United Kingdom only, but in all countries that need, desire, and are capable of using them.” In reference to the connection of Mr. Charles Grant and Mr. Thornton, members of the Court of Directors, and of Lord Teignmouth, of the Board of Control, with the Bible Society, he said, “if official employment is to neutralise personal exertion, if a connection with the executive Government or the India House is to operate as a disability on those who hold it to promote at their discretion the circulation of the Scriptures, to what a state of moral vassalage are the numerous members of each department reduced!” He then alluded to “the only expression in Mr. Buchanan’s Memoir which seemed to require explanation, the policy of coercing the contemptuous spirit of our native subjects,” and showed satisfactorily that the objection to it vanished when it was read in conjunction with the context; that it was the turbulent and bloody spirit of our native Mahomedan subjects that Mr. Buchanan had considered it necessary to coerce, and that the restraint was to be civil and not religious in its character. Mr. Twining had said in a note that he did not know “who these Serampore Missionaries were.” Mr. Owen rebuked him for his “ostentatious ignorance,” and said, “as for Mr. Carey, the chief minister of the Baptist Mission, he is known, I presume, to all who do not consider Literature disgraced by an alliance with Piety. As teacher of the Bengalee, Sanscrit, and Mahratta languages in the College of Fort William, and a member of the Asiatic Society, he is not a correspondent whom any institution need be anxious to disown. As to the Serampore Missionaries, Sir George Barlow would have informed him who they may be, in whose printed speech they are acknowledged with respect as ‘the Society of Protestant Missionaries at Serampore.’ His Majesty’s Librarian can inform him by exhibiting to his view, upon the royal shelves, a copy of the first Bengalee New Testament imported into this

country, the work of these very Missionaries, whom it seems it is a credit, and that in a Senior Merchant on the Bengal establishment, not to know who they may be." Mr. Owen's letter concluded with the following dignified remarks, which placed the decision of the question of Missions upon the broad ground of Christian philanthropy:—"Finally, Sir, I have ventured to take it for granted, considering who would be my judges, and in what an awful crisis I write, that the Bible is the only book which contains the revealed will of God, that the sooner it supersedes the Shaster and the Koran, the sooner will the happiness of India be consummated, and that the more we contribute as a nation and as individuals to promote this end by lawful means, the greater blessings we shall draw down on our commerce and on our arms, upon ourselves and our posterity."

Mr. Twining's attack on the missionary enterprise was that of a mere skirmisher compared with the heavy cannonade now opened by Major Scott Waring. He had gone out to India in the military service of the Company, about the year 1765, and was subsequently placed on the personal staff of the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings. Major Scott Waring's attack. So completely had he acquired the confidence of Mr. Hastings, that he was sent home as his representative to counteract the opposition of Mr. Francis, who had returned to England with feelings of the most malignant hostility towards the Governor-General. He obtained a seat in Parliament, and stood forth on all occasions as the opponent of Mr. Francis, but so reckless were his assertions, and so injudicious the advocacy of Mr. Hastings's interest, that he was commonly designated his "evil genius." The time he had passed in India was that in which the European community was preeminently distinguished by indifference to Christianity, and a partiality for the superstitions of the country. But, on his first appearance before the public on this occasion, he represented himself as the warmest admirer of "our good

old Church," and stated that he had acted as chaplain to a regiment for two years, when there were but two chaplains at the whole Presidency, and, notwithstanding his cordial hatred of all sectaries, had, according to his own affirmation, "a better knowledge of truth than most other men." In July, 1807, he published some "Observations on the present state of the East India Company," chiefly in reference to its financial position. In that pamphlet he stated, that the alarming mutiny of Vellore had already subsided, that it had been excited by the sons of Tippoo Sultan, whose emissaries insinuated that the change in the dress of the sepoys was only preparatory to the accomplishment of our great object of compelling them to embrace Christianity; but as the government in India had taken every method to convince the natives "that we should pay the same regard to their religious opinions and customs as we had hitherto invariably done," there was not the smallest danger of another mutiny, unless we adopted a new system in India. This reference to the mutiny, led him to consider the ecclesiastical establishment which Mr. Buchanan had proposed, and the labours of the Serampore Missionaries. With regard to the establishment, he said it would lead the people of India to the conclusion, that if they could not be reasoned out of the religion of their forefathers, they would be compelled to embrace Christianity, and that they would feel the most serious alarm if they were to see a number of clergymen spread over Hindoostan, paid and encouraged by government. "Missionaries," said he, "can do no mischief in India, if they are treated as formerly, neither encouraged nor oppressed. The true line for the British Government to pursue, is obvious: let missionaries make as many converts as they can, but give them no support on the one hand, or discouragement on the other."

The pamphlet went through four editions in eight months. To the second edition the Major added some "preparatory remarks, grounded on additional information, which

he said he had recently received, in the hope that it might attract the attention of the East India Company and the Legislature." The Preface, which was equal in bulk to the pamphlet itself, denounced the missionaries and their enterprise in terms of the most unqualified abuse. It opened with the proclamation issued by the government at Madras, on the 3rd of December, 1806, which was intended to allay the agitation still prevalent in several corps, and gave the native troops the assurance, that the same respect which had been invariably shown by the British Government for their religion and their customs would be always continued. The policy of issuing any such proclamation in the face of a mutiny was much questioned, because it was thought that the attention it aroused was calculated rather to prolong than extinguish excitement. No mutiny was ever yet extinguished or arrested by proclamations; when men have passed the Rubicon, such documents are considered as a token of fear, and serve to add fuel to the flame, which can be quenched only in blood. But the proclamation was before the Major when the body of the work, in which he asserted that missionaries unsupported by Government could do no harm, was composed and published; this document, therefore, was not sufficient to account for the change of his opinion. But it appeared, that some one had written from India to say, that three months after the date of the proclamation, so great was the dread of a general revolt among our native troops, that the British officers constantly slept with pistols under their pillows. On the strength of this information, he deemed it his duty to assert that, "if India was deemed worth preserving, we should endeavour to regain the confidence of the people by the immediate recal of every missionary." Having thus altered his opinion regarding the proceedings of the Serampore Missionaries, because some timid officers, a thousand miles off, did not go to bed without loaded pistols, eight months after the mutiny, he rushed onward

with a degree of reckless virulence, which recalled to mind the truculent pamphlets he had published under the signature of "Detector," and of "Asiaticus," in the height of the Hastings controversy. Every epithet of abuse, which ingenuity could invent, was unsparingly heaped on them. He called public attention, in the first instance, to what had passed in 1781. The Supreme Court, among other freaks of power, had issued a process against the Raja of Cossijurah, a wealthy landholder, residing a hundred miles from Calcutta, and sent a posse of European constables to execute it, who were said to have entered the Raja's dwelling and committed various outrages, desecrating the family shrine and violating the sanctity of the female apartments. Mr. Hastings and his council deemed it necessary for the peace of the country, and for the vindication of their authority, to resist this aggression of the Crown Court by force of arms, and then petitioned Parliament for a bill of indemnity. In taking evidence regarding the outrages committed, the House was insensibly led to inquire, perhaps for the first time, into the subject of the Hindoo laws, religion, and customs, and the Major asserted that "there appeared to be but *one opinion* in Parliament, in the East India Company, and in the nation at large, and it was this, that any attempt to interfere with the religion, the laws, or the local customs of India, must inevitably tend to the destruction of the British power, and that the people of India were entitled, upon every principle of justice as well as policy, to the full enjoyment of their own religion, laws, and customs." But the fact was, that the Legislature passed no resolution whatever on the subject in 1781; and the allusion to this transaction only served to disclose the weakness of Major Scott Waring's cause, for it was ridiculous to draw a comparison between the outrageous violation of a religious shrine by the myrmidons of the law and the peaceful dissemination of Christian truth. He then alluded to the year 1793, "when Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Com-

mons, proposed two clauses in the Charter Act then under discussion, by one of which free schools were to be instituted throughout India; and by another, Christian missionaries were to be appointed, and both for the avowed purpose of civilising and *converting* the natives." These propositions, he said, could not have been listened to in 1781, when it was the fixed principle of the Legislature never to interfere with the religion, laws, and customs of India. The Bishop of London, he said, supported clauses similar to those of Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Lords, but they were strongly opposed by the late Bishop of St. Asaph, "a sound and orthodox divine, and one of the main pillars of our good *old Church of England*. The Bishop deprecated any attempt to interfere with the religion, laws, or local customs of the people of India, and assured the House, that as Christians there was no obligation on us, were it possible, which he denied, to attempt the conversion of the natives of India. The command of our Saviour to preach the Gospel to all creatures, did not apply to us; the gifts of tongues and miracles had ceased, and with it the extraordinary commission had ceased too."

The Major proceeded to assert that "the mind of man had never conceived a wilder or more dangerous plan than that of instituting Free Schools throughout Hindoostan. . . . What Mahomedan or what Hindoo would send his children for education to a schoolmaster, except by compulsion? But the institution itself would arm all India against us; because it would convince the natives that if persuasion would not affect what we wanted, we should then resort to compulsion." Dr. Kerr, the Madras Chaplain, had recommended that English Schools should be established, because the natives considered that language the key to fortune, and had remarked that their ill-founded ridiculous principles must be shaken to the very foundation by the communication of such liberal knowledge as a Christian can instil into the minds of youth, and all this without making any alarming attacks directly on the

religion of the Hindoos. On this plan the Major observes:—
“We are therefore, by a deception of the basest kind, to allure the children of these brahmins to our schools, that we may shake their ill-founded ridiculous principles, but still to keep up the mask of friendly regard to their temporal interests by merely offering to teach them a language which will be the *key to fortune*. No disciple of Loyola ever proposed a scheme more repugnant to every principle of justice and true morality.” He said he had resided in Bengal during the government of Mr. Verelst, Mr. Cartier, and Mr. Hastings, and they were equally careful in fostering and protecting the religion of Mahomed and the Shaster. He maintained that it had been the invariable practice of the British Government generally to foster and protect the religion of the Hindoos, and also to encourage what the Bible Society terms the bloody and degrading superstition of Mahomed, but now India was overspread with sectarian Missionaries whom, with an affectation of ignorance and contempt, he described “as Baptist Missionaries, Arminian Missionaries, United Brethren Missionaries, &c. &c.” Who the Baptist Missionaries were, he did not exactly know, though he believed they might be classed with Calvinistic Methodists to distinguish them from Arminian Methodists. “They appear to be illiterate, ignorant, and as enthusiastic as the wildest devotees among the Hindoos. Such men are not calculated to convert a civilised race from a false to the true religion. Those who have conceived it *possible* to convert the natives to Christianity, should have been careful not to throw India into the hands of schismatics. The new order of Missionaries were the most ignorant and the most bigoted of men. Their compositions were, in fact, nothing but puritanical rant of the most vulgar kind; worse than that so much in fashion in Great Britain during the days of Oliver Cromwell. The head of this mission,” he said, “is a Mr. William Carey, who enjoys a salary from the Company of eight hundred pounds a year, as teacher

of the Bengalee and Sanscrit languages : he has also apartments in the College for the reception of his brother Missionaries when they visit Calcutta. In the Company's list of College officers, he is styled Mr. William Carey ; but the Bible Society have given him the dignified title of '*Reverend.*' For some years, as he tells us himself, he laboured in concert with brother Thomas, as he calls him, in Dinagepore, *but without success.* This brother Thomas, and his convert Parbotee, died raving mad in Bengal some time ago. In the course of several years these English Missionaries have made very few converts. They have not made a single Mahomedan convert, and the very few Hindoos who have been converted were men of the most despicable characters, who had lost their caste, and took up a new religion because they were excommunicated." Major Scott Waring considered the success of Missions absolutely hopeless, and that the very attempt must entail the loss of the empire. "I am most confident," said he, "that success by circulating our Holy Scriptures and by encouraging Missionaries, so far from being probable, would be impossible. If there are any public men in India wild enough to conceive the conversion of the natives to be probable, let them consider what fatal consequences must ensue if their judgment be erroneous. We have not more than thirty thousand British subjects in all India to oppose a population of fifty millions in a general religious insurrection. If there are amongst us men who conceive India to be of no importance to Great Britain, humanity requires that we should preserve the lives of our countrymen until we can send transports to bring them home." Two hundred copies of St. Matthew's Gospel, printed at Serampore, in the Mahratta language, were sent by Mr. Taylor, a Missionary, to Surat, to be given away amongst the natives—and the Major considered this measure likely to produce *another Mahratta war.* "Are the Missionaries," said he, "to be allowed to spread themselves over India each with a train of hackeries loaded

with Bibles and religious pamphlets? Shall a warehouse be opened at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and the people invited by public advertisement to take away as many copies as they choose? How is it possible that a distribution can be made so as to make it appear that *Government* gives no sort of countenance to the undertaking? In fact, if the ingenuity of Bonaparte had been exercised in devising a plan, that with more certainty than any other would destroy the British Empire in India, he would have recommended the very plan adopted by the Bible Society." It has been stated in a former chapter that Mr. William Carey junr. and Mr. Moore went on a missionary tour to Dacca, from whence they were peremptorily sent back by the official authorities. On this Major Scott Waring observes: "Notwithstanding this prohibition from persons possessing the highest civil authority in the province, Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore had the presumption to distribute these pamphlets as they returned back to Serampore; an act of contumacy for which they ought to have been shut up as dangerous maniacs, or immediately sent to England. It is clear to me, that, unless powerfully patronised, Mr. Carey and Mr. Moore would not have conducted themselves with such unexampled presumption." Mr. Marshman, again, had stated in a letter to Mr. Fuller, that the appearance of a European in a village created alarm, and therefore advised the more extended employment of native agency; upon which Major Scott Waring observes: "The missionaries represent to their society, the great service that may be done to the cause by the exertions of active native converts, 'who might get *silent and unperceived* into houses, and scatter the precious seed; whereas, *the mere appearance of an English missionary in a bigoted city would occasion the greatest alarm.*' After so frank a confession, can the Legislature hesitate an instant in recalling these madmen from Bengal?" But Mr. Marshman alluded to the alarm created by his appearance as a European and not as a Missionary. The same

alarm still prevails. In the year 1852, it became necessary to carry the railroad survey through a district not two hundred miles from Calcutta which had been nearly a hundred years in our possession, yet so foreign was the sight of a European that the villages were deserted on the approach of the European surveyors. Mr. Marshman had also mentioned that the comparatively small expense of native preachers was a farther recommendation of the plan. Major Scott Waring designedly, or inadvertently, perverts his meaning, as if he had alluded to the bribing of men to become converts. "One of the missionaries," he says, "writes to England that 'a hundred rupees a month would support ten native converts with their families, and a still greater number of single brethren,' which is undoubtedly true, because the wages of our common servants are but three, four, and five rupees a month."

The pamphlets of Mr. Twining and Major Scott Waring were industriously circulated in London, in the beginning of December, to prepare the proprietors for the motion which Mr. Twining intended to bring forward in the Court, on the 23rd of that month, for the extinction of Indian Missions. Mr. Fuller hastened to London and found that a strong anti-missionary feeling had been created in influential political circles, which it was necessary to counteract with promptitude. He was informed that it was necessary to muster all the strength the friends of Missions could command in the Court of Proprietors to meet these attacks, and that, as the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, he must prepare a full and satisfactory reply to the calumnies contained in these pamphlets. Four days after, he learned that some of the Directors had seriously contemplated the recal of the missionaries, and he immediately waited on Lord Wellesley, to solicit his interest with the ministry to defeat this project. Lord Wellesley assured Mr. Fuller that he was decidedly opposed to such a measure, which he considered as the most impolitic and unjust which

Mr. Fuller's
exertions.

could be thought of, and he promised to use his efforts to dissuade the Ministry from it, if they should ask his opinion on the subject. Mr. Fuller also called on Lord Teignmouth, who was as frank and friendly as ever, and read him a memorial he had presented to the Court of Directors on the subject. He said he had made a similar representation to the Board of Control, where the impression appeared to be rather antagonistic to Mr. Twining's views. The Proprietors met on the 23rd of December, when Mr. Twining rose and delivered a long speech on the new dangers which threatened our empire in India, by the attempts which had been made to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives. He said he was anxious to decline all discussion, and only requested the Chairman to give him the assurance that, in future, no interference would be allowed in the religious opinions of the natives. The Chairman declined to give any other than a general assurance that the Directors would do whatever appeared to them to be most proper. Mr. Twining was thus repulsed at the first onset, and left the Court, threatening to call a special meeting of the Proprietors. It was generally supposed, that a majority of this body was opposed to any interference with the Serampore Missionaries; but it was still deemed necessary to counteract the effect which had been produced by the two pamphlets. Mr. Fuller, therefore, shut himself up in the house of a friend in London, and began the compilation of his "Apology for the late Christian Missions in India;" but while he was engaged in the task, four other pamphlets, equally hostile, appeared in rapid succession, and it was deemed necessary to embrace their assertions in his reply. The "Apology" was thus expanded into three parts, and formed a volume of three hundred and thirty pages. We can find room, however, only for a brief notice of the salient points of attack and reply.

Mr. Twining had affirmed that "as long as we continued to govern India in the mild and tolerant spirit of

Christianity, we might govern it with ease; but if ever the day should arrive when religious innovation set her foot in the country, indignation would spread from one end of India to the other." To this Mr. Fuller replied:—"Is giving the Scriptures, then, to the natives, in their own languages, and offering to instruct them in their leading doctrines, opposed to the mild and tolerant spirit of Christianity? If it be, neither the founder of the Christian religion nor His followers have yet understood it. The question which Mr. Twining proposes to submit to a General Court of Proprietors, whatever be the terms, in which it may be couched, will not be, whether the natives of India shall continue to enjoy the most perfect toleration; but *whether that toleration shall be extended to Christian Missionaries.*" Mr. Fuller then alluded to the singular notion of toleration which had been entertained of late years by some who would be thought its firmest advocates, and remarked, "They do not propose to persecute the Christians of India, provided they would keep their Christianity to themselves; but those who *attempt to convert others* are to be exterminated. I need not say that this is not toleration, but persecution." Mr. Twining had stated that he was "particularly alive" to the religious opinions and customs of the people of India, with which he would allow no interference, and Mr. Fuller proceeded to enumerate some of the sanguinary rites of Hindooism, and then asked whether such customs as these were the proper objects of toleration. "The natives of India," Mr. Twining tells us, are a *religious* people, and in this respect they differ, he fears, from the inhabitants of this country. "If," says Mr. Fuller, "by the inhabitants of this country Mr. Twining means those Christians who are alarmed at the progress of Christianity, I fear so too. If the religion of the natives, however, have no influence on their morals, unless it be to corrupt them, it will argue nothing in its favour. And that this is the case every

Mr. Fuller's
"Apology" for
Christian Mis-
sions.

friend to the morality of the New Testament who has resided in India can bear witness." He then adduced evidence of the low state of morals in India, from the writings of Bernier, Holwell, Sir John Shore, and Dr. Carey, and proceeded onwards to the main question,—the political danger which, it was affirmed, must inevitably attend every attempt to disturb the religious prejudices of the natives. "Mr. Twining speaks of *alarms* among the natives; but what are they? When, or where did they manifest themselves? If, by these alarms, he means a conviction that their principles will gradually fall before the light of the gospel, there is some foundation for what he says. But if he means that, on account of anything done or doing by the Missionaries, they are apprehensive of their religion being suppressed by authority, there is no proof of the fact, nor any attempt to prove it. The only alarms which the labours of the Missionaries have excited, will be found in the minds of Europeans, who, passing under the name of Christians, are tremblingly alive to the danger of Christianity making any progress in the world." With regard to the safety of attempting to convert the natives, Mr. Fuller quotes largely from a paper drawn up on the subject by Mr. Marshman, in which he maintained that "there is nothing to be feared from the attempt. The Hindoos resemble an immense number of particles of sand, which are incapable of forming a solid mass. There is no bond of union among them, nor any principle capable of effecting it. Their hierarchy has no head, no influential body, no subordinate orders. The brahmins, as well as the nation at large, are a vast number of disconnected atoms, totally incapable of cohesion. . . . For the sake of a little gain, a brahmin will write against his gods, satisfying himself with the conviction that the sin belongs to his employer, and that he is only labouring to support himself." The first part of Mr. Fuller's "Apology" concluded with these remarks: "Mr. Twining may be disgusted at the idea of the Eastern Empire being given

us by Providence, *for the very purpose* of introducing the gospel; but if it be so, it is no more than God's having formerly given it to Cyrus, *for Jacob, his servant's sake*. Men may scorn to be subservient to their Maker; but, whether they consent or not, it will be so. The conquests of Rome made way for the introduction of Christianity into Britain; and those of Britain may make way for its general introduction into the east. 'Who knoweth whether we are come to the kingdom for such a time as this? If we altogether hold our peace at this time, then may their enlargement and deliverance arise to them from another place, and we and our father's house may be destroyed.' "

The first reply which appeared to Major Scott Waring's first attack, was published by the Rev. John Owen, on the 16th of December, 1807. In less than a fort-
Major Scott Waring's rejoinder.
 night, the Major was ready with his rejoinder, which extended to ninety-two pages. It bore every appearance of having been compiled in great haste, and contained more than the usual amount of repetition, — one charge, indeed, was repeated no less than seven times, — and the deficiency of vigour he attempted to compensate for by an increase of virulence. The Major discovered that he had committed a serious error in embracing within the compass of his censures not only the sectarians whom he cordially detested, but clergymen of "our excellent Church." He endeavoured therefore to separate his opponents, exculpating as far as possible the Bible Society and all the members of the Church of England whom he had included in his attack, and confining his denunciations to the sectarians. "I would prefer a thousand times over an establishment of Missionaries in India, and the institution of free schools under the direction of our excellent Archbishops and Bishops, to letting loose a number of ignorant and bigoted sectarian English Missionaries, protected by what they call *evangelical clergymen*." "I cannot," says he, "Reverend Sir, subscribe to the justice of

your panegyric on Mr. William Carey as he is called in the list of persons employed by the East India Company, the *Reverend* Mr. Carey as the Bible Society denominates him, or *Brother* Carey, the name he goes by at Serampore. He may be a dissenter of great piety, a good man, and a competent teacher of the Bengalee, Sanscrit, and Mahratta languages in the College of Fort William, but he had the presumption to act in defiance of the fixed regulations of the Company; and the time he chose to act with so much contumacy was when Lord Wellesley had resigned the Government, when Lord Cornwallis was dying at Ghazee-pore, when Sir George Barlow was on his way to Benares, and Mr. Udny was left in the sole charge of the Government." "I have read a number of Mr. Carey's letters, from which, as well from his contumacious conduct at Dacca (it was Dr. Carey's second son who went to Dacca), it is clear to me, at least, that he is narrow-minded and intemperate. I am sure you have too correct a taste to admire the puritanical cant that is contained in Brother Carey's letters. . . . The East India Company gave the English Missionaries in India no authority to act as they have done. No Act of Parliament has passed to sanction their proceedings. They were not appointed by the prelates of our Church to exercise missionary functions abroad; why then may not a layman of *the Church* point out what he conceives to be very improper conduct in sectarian laymen, without exciting so violent an attack from a clergyman of the Church of England?" The chief argument of his second pamphlet, was the imminent danger to which our Indian empire was exposed by these Missionary exertions, and the absolute necessity of their immediate recal, if we were desirous of preserving it. Three of the native converts had been driven from a village, where they had endeavoured to collect an audience, upon which Major Scott Waring remarks:—"A whole village rose against three native converts. The fact is mentioned by Mr. Ward, an English Missionary; who, after he has

mentioned it, quotes the following words, spoken by our Blessed Saviour to his disciples, 'Think you I am come to send peace on the earth? I tell you, nay.' These words (which, considered with their context, most evidently apply to the destruction of Jerusalem, which our Blessed Saviour predicted would happen before the generation then existing had passed away) this English Missionary applies to a very alarming commotion — in fact to an insurrection to the extent of all the people that were within sight or hearing. Is it proper that this English Missionary should be allowed to remain in India?" The Missionaries had said, that they could not enter a bigoted city without creating universal alarm, — alluding to the alarm which would arise from their appearance as Englishmen, — and he observes on this circumstance: — "Are Englishmen who create so universal an alarm, wherever they appear, fit to remain in India? . . . Upon every principle of justice as well as policy, it is generally admitted, that we are bound to foster and protect the religion of Mahomed and the Shaster, as long as fifty millions of people, whom Providence has placed under our rule, shall be invincibly attached (as unquestionably they now are) to those religions. The utmost efforts that man can use will not be able to persuade them that a single Englishman can venture to act, in any instance, against that absolute authority which they suppose to be vested in the Supreme Government over British as well as native subjects, and they must naturally suppose that everything done by the English Missionaries was done under the authority and approbation of the Governor-General and Council. Considering as I do the nature of the Government of India, the character of the people, their invincible attachment to their religion, and the immense disproportion between thirty thousand British subjects (which is the extent of our population, including the whole army) and fifty millions of native subjects, I am of opinion that no sort of interference with them on the subject of religion can be at-

tempted without immediate danger, and ultimately effecting our destruction in India." The skill with which the Vellore Mutiny and the proclamation of the Madras Government were brought in, to show the necessity of recalling the Missionaries, is worthy of particular note. It was believed by the native troops on the Coast of Coromandel, that it was the wish of Government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity. This was a fact admitted by the proclamation, — therefore confidence cannot be restored while an English missionary remains in India, and while our Holy Scriptures are circulated among the people gratuitously. Not only, however, was there danger in the attempt to convert the natives, but the attempt itself must inevitably be unsuccessful. "Of the probability of success, I never did entertain the most distant hope or expectation. . . . The question is this, whether it be practicable to convert the natives of India to the Christian religion by *human means*, and although you, Reverend Sir, seem to think this a question too shocking to be endured, I see neither absurdity nor sin in thus stating it, and avowing that by human means the people of India never will be converted to Christianity." He then proceeded to enumerate the human means which had been devised for the conversion of the natives, and added, "If these means should receive the sanction of the Legislature, I do not believe they would produce the wished for effect, but I firmly believe that *one year* would complete the destruction of the British power in India." He closed his pamphlet by assuring his opponent that for fifty years he had been in the habit of reading the Scriptures and the commentaries of our most approved writers, that he had gone farther and read Romaine and Dr. Hawker, that he took in the *Christian Observer*, and generally read the *Evangelical Magazine*, — yet it appeared that in the Proprietor's opinion he had committed as great a sin by exposing what he conceived to be the absurdity of English Missionaries in India, and stating the danger which he

thought might arise from their temerity, as if he had blasphemed our Holy Scriptures.

Mr. Fuller's second Apology begins with an examination of the second pamphlet of Major Scott Waring, and he takes up the question of political danger from Missionary labours on the broadest ground, in his Introduction. "We may be told that the greater part of our opponents profess to be Christians, and that their opposition is merely on *political* considerations. I might meet them upon this ground, and deny that the progress of the Gospel, in any country or under any circumstances, can be unfriendly to its political welfare. But it would be compromising the honour of the Gospel to rest its defence on this principle. If Christianity be true, it is of such importance that no political considerations are sufficient to weigh against it; nor ought they for a moment to be put into competition with it. If Christianity be true, it is of God; and if it be of God, to oppose its progress on the grounds of political expediency, is the same thing as to tell our Maker that we will not have him to reign over us, unless his Government be subservient to our temporal interests." In reference to the general character of the Major's pamphlet Mr. Fuller observes: "We have his whole strength in his former Preface, no new facts are adduced, nor new arguments from the old ones: almost all is repetition. Thus he repeats the base calumnies, of our bribing beggars to become Christians — of our sending out thousands a year to support them — of our not having made one good convert — of the converts having lost caste before they were baptized, &c., and, thus, seven times over, he has repeated the words of Mr. Marshman, on "an alarm being excited in a bigoted city by the appearance of a European Missionary, which after all respects him not as a Missionary, but merely a European." Although Major Scott Waring had said "that he was anxious to preserve the manners of a gentleman in arguing this question of Missions," yet he

Mr. Fuller's
second Apology.

had inflicted a gross and wanton insult on the memory of the dead, by the gratuitous statement regarding Mr. Thomas's having died raving mad. In reference to the Major's desire to remain at peace with the members of the Church of England, and to carry the war only into the Dissenting camp, Mr. Fuller observes: "It seems to grieve the Major that Christians of almost all denominations are united against him; but he and his colleagues have to thank themselves for this. Had their attack been directed merely against a few Dissenters, they might have had some chance of succeeding, but it is so broad that no man who has any feeling for Christianity can view it in any other light than an attempt to *crush it in our Eastern possessions*. It is an attempt to stop the progress of the Bible, and therefore must be absolutely Anti-Christian. Whether Major Scott Waring perceives his error in this respect, and wishes to repair it, or whatever be his motive, he certainly labours in this his second performance to divide his opponents; first, he would fain persuade them that he himself is a Christian, which it is very possible he may be in his own esteem; and secondly, he would be very glad to single out these sectarian Missionaries as the only object of his dislike. It grieves him sorely that they should have been encouraged by clergymen. If they would but discard these men, I know not, but they might obtain forgiveness for being evangelical."

Mr. Twining and Major Scott Waring were now joined in their Missionary crusade by a colleague in the person of a "Bengal Officer," Col. Stewart, generally known in India under the name of "Hindoo Stewart." He had abjured Christianity, and become a worshipper of the Hindoo deities. He exposed himself equally to the ridicule of the natives, and the contempt of his own countrymen, by going down in the morning to the Ganges, with flowers and sacrificial vessels, to perform his ablutions according to the Hindoo ritual. At a subsequent period, he asked permission to accompany the

The Bengal Officer's pamphlet.

Army in its progress towards the capital of Nepal, that he might have an opportunity of paying his devotions at a celebrated shrine of Shiva, which lay on the route. On the present occasion, his pamphlet did eminent service to the cause of Christian Missions by the ridicule it brought on the cause of their opponents. The Bengal Officer exhibited the most profound respect for the Hindoo religion, and entertained the most lofty conception of the morals and virtues of the Hindoos, and he now came forward to denounce the sacrilegious attack of the Missionaries on the sacred and venerable fabric of Hindooism. Others had preceded him in the attempt to show that all efforts to convert the Hindoos must inevitably prove abortive, and that they must be attended with political danger. It was reserved for him to maintain that it was altogether unnecessary, in as much as the Hindoos were already in possession of a code of religion and morals superior to any thing we could offer them. In reference to the excellence of the shasters, he remarked: "I would repose the Hindoo system on the broad basis of its own merits; convinced that, on the enlarged principles of moral reasoning, it little needs the meliorating hand of Christianity to render its votaries a sufficiently correct and moral people, for all the useful purposes of civilised society; for, 'we know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully.'" On the revolting picture which Mr. Buchanan had drawn of the Hindoo deities he remarks: "I must confess, that, before I perused his book, I had always regarded as moral Gods, the Indian Triad, BRAHMA, VISHNOU, and SEEVA; who are usually considered as personifications of the Divinity, in the respective attributes of CREATION, PRESERVATION, and DESTRUCTION. . . . It also appeared to me, that the active power of those divinities, respectively manifested in the persons of SERESWATI, LUTCHMEE, and DOORGA, could be considered in no other light than as types of virtue. . . . Wherever I look around me, in the vast region of Hindoo Mythology, I discover piety in the garb

of allegory : and I see Morality, at every turn, blended with every tale; and, as far as I can rely on my own judgment, it appears the most complete and ample system of Moral Allegory, that the world has ever produced." To illustrate the excellence of the Hindoo system he quotes the following representation, which the Poorans give of the brahmin: "In his heart, the moon; in his auditory nerves, the guardians of the eight regions; in his progressive motion, VISHNU; in muscular force, HARA; in his organs of speech, AGNI; in excretion, MITRA; in procreation, BRAHMA." "It is true that they worship the Deity through the medium of images; but we satisfactorily learn from the Geeta, that it is not the mere image, but the invisible spirit, that they thus worship." He then bursts forth in the following superstitious rhapsody: "How consolatory therefore, to the Hindoo, is the notion of that purgatory, where the soul, in a state of penance, proportioned to its mortal impurity, at length, after numerous transmigrations becomes liberated from all sublunary stain, and is thus ultimately restored to the mansion of eternal bliss, the prime source of its emanation!"

The Bengal Officer was constrained to admit that there were some rules and habits among the Hindoos which might be open to censure, but then it was the duty of Government to set about the reformation of this system of idolatry, and to engage the services of the brahmins in these benevolent labours. "That there are many reprehensible customs among the Hindoos, the mere offspring of superstition, cannot, unhappily, be denied: but as they are not enjoined by the Veda, and are chiefly confined to certain classes, they are by no means invincible: and the maturity of human reason will, I trust, bring them, at length, into disuse. I would endeavour to enlighten them on those points, through the medium of their priests. An injunction from the seat of Government, to the Colleges of Nuddeah, Benares, and other places, to take into consideration the obnoxious

points that grate the feelings of humanity, would be an expedient of more effect than the prohibitory mandate of our Government. In whatever reform we may engage, we must take the brahmins to support us; we shall otherwise have the multitude against us, and be regarded as despotic." Even the immolation of widows admitted of palliation and almost excited his admiration: "Every feeling mind must lament that infatuation that urges the Hindoo widow to burn herself with the corpse of her deceased husband; it is an instance of deluded heroism, that we cannot but admire, while we condemn." It has been admitted by all classes, European and Native, Christians and Hindoos, that the Fukeers, or religious mendicants in India, are the most unmitigated pests of society; but the Bengal Officer considers that their pious example might become a source of great edification. "That the suppression of these orders would contribute greatly to the improvement of the natives of Indostan, I very much doubt; nay, I should rather suppose that those whose minds are not totally absorbed in worldly considerations must be often edified by the pious example of those wandering classes, who, rejecting the usual comforts ascribed to Asiatic indolence, undertake, at all seasons of the year, painful journeys, through gloomy forests infested by wild beasts, over mountains of difficult ascent, or across the scorching plains of Upper India, either for the expiation of their sins, the discharge of pious vows, or with a view of rendering the Deity propitious to their ultimate hopes of future beatitude. Enlightened by their discourse, and emulating their piety, the house-keeper, the mere man of the world, is thus likely to become, by the improvement of his morality, a better subject of the state, and an honest member of the community." When he comes to treat of the morality and excellence which these inimitable shasters had introduced among the people, he is lost in extasy. "To this, if I could presume to add my own humble testimony, an experience of seven and

twenty years would enable me, at least, to do justice to their unexampled honesty and fidelity." "Again, I must do them the justice to declare, that I have never met with a people, exhibiting more suavity of manners, or more mildness of character, or a happier race of beings, when left to the undisturbed performance of the rites of their religion. And it may be truly said, that, if Arcadian happiness ever had existence, it must have been rivalled in Hindostan. Cease, then, worthy Missionaries, to disturb that repose that forms the happiness of so many millions of the human race; a procedure that can only tend 'to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law;' nor unhappily cause, by an indiscreet, though perhaps venial zeal, that 'a man's foes shall be they of his own household.'" "That there are some great points, in the general superstition of the Hindoos, which we might wish to see retrenched, is not to be disputed, but, individually, and in private life, I see little to condemn; and justly to say of any people, that they are mild, modest, and obsequious; patient, obedient, and attentive; hospitable, charitable, and benevolent; honest, sober, temperate, and faithful; I conceive to be no small praise. Whenever, therefore, the Christian religion does as much for the lower orders of society in Europe, as that of Brahma thus appears to have done for the Hindoos, I shall cheerfully vote for its establishment in Hindostan."

The converts to Christianity he treats with even more than brahminical hate: "Let us, therefore, not wound their feelings, by sending such miscreants among them; the refuse of their own tribes, whom they can regard only with abhorrence; and, addressing myself to the good sense of our Missionaries, let me seriously ask them: what opinion must the brahmins entertain of a religion that thus receives into its bosom wretches who have been deemed unworthy the communion of their friends, are

considered a disgrace to their families, and have utterly rejected the society of the virtuous among themselves ; . . . renegadoes from the faith in which they were nursed, who, perhaps, suffering restraint under the severity of its discipline, have possibly, in seceding, left behind them, with its forms, the sound morality that it inculcates ?” The impossibility of ever converting the Hindoos admits in his mind of no doubt : “ Those pious Preachers of the Gospel, who proceed to India for the purpose of converting the Hindoos, merit the thanks of the Church for their good intentions : but their zeal is misapplied, and their labours will be fruitless ; no Hindoo of any respectability will ever yield to their remonstrances.” But the attempt to convert them will be attended with the highest danger : “ Is it wise, is it politic, is it even safe, to institute a war of sentiment against the only friends of any importance we seem to have yet left in India — our faithful subjects of the Ganges, by suffering Missionaries, or our own clergy, to preach among them the errors of idolatry and superstition, and thus disseminating throughout the public mind, the seeds of distrust and disaffection, to the imminent danger of every energy of the State ? ” In the opinion of the Bengal Officer, the dangers which thus menace our British dominion in the East had been induced by men who were acting on the most mercenary principles. Mr. Buchanan had no object but to obtain a mitre, and the Missionaries were disturbing India merely for their own subsistence. Of the former he remarks, “ If contradictions of this nature can tend to promote Mr. Buchanan’s views, I should be sorry to stand between him and the object of his research ; should that object be a Bishopric, I think his zeal and good intentions establish a fair claim to consideration ; and I question not, but he is of opinion with St. Paul, that ‘ If a man desires the office of a Bishop he desireth a good work.’ ” Of the Missionaries he insinuates, “ If the conduct of the Missionaries

has here so unwisely forced itself on the attention of the public, and thus rendered them obnoxious to the displeasure of our Government in the East, in having, unsanctioned by its authority, assumed the dangerous province of attempting to regulate the consciences of its native subjects, to the manifest tendency of disturbing that repose and public confidence that form at this moment the chief security of our precarious tenure in Hindostan: if men, thus labouring for subsistence in their vocation, and under the necessity of making converts, at any rate, in order to insure the continuance of their allowances and the permanency of their mission, rashly venture to hurl the bigot anathema of intolerance, at the head of the 'Barbarian Hindoos;' and, unadvisedly, to vilify the revered repositories of their faith, we may find some colour of excuse, in the seeming necessity under which they act." After the first edition of his pamphlet had been printed the Bengal Officer learnt that Serampore had been captured by the English, and he seized the opportunity of suggesting that the suppression of their Mission must now be an easy matter: "As the head station of the Bengal Missionaries is at the Danish settlement of Serampore, and as that place is now under our immediate control, the complete suppression of their functions must, therefore, be a work of great facility." The pamphlet wound up with a solemn appeal to the public authorities in England: "The affair has now assumed an aspect of such importance, as to demand the utmost vigilance and energy of our Government in India, to guard against the evils that follow in its train:—To the Honourable Company therefore, and to the Empire at large, that Government stands pledged, by every sense of imperious duty, and every consideration of personal safety to our countrymen abroad, to obviate, by the most prompt and decisive interposition of their authority, the menaced consequences of that current of indignation now raised in the minds of our Indian subjects, by the impo-

litic, unwise, and improper conduct of those misguided Missionaries."

Mr. Fuller opens his reply to this pamphlet by stating that it surpassed all that had gone before it. "Messrs. Twining and Scott Waring were desirous of being considered as Christians; but if this Mr. Fuller's Reply. writer does not formally avow his infidelity, he takes so little care to disguise it, that no doubt can remain on the subject. After having ascribed the Protestant religion to reason rather than to revelation, pretended that the immortality of the soul was first revealed in Hindoostan, questioned whether Christianity be at all necessary to the improvement of the Indian system of moral ordinances, preferred the heathen notion of transmigration to the Christian doctrine of future punishment, and framed a Geeta of his own in favour of purgatory, after all this, I say, and much more, can he, with any consistency, pretend to be a Christian?" In the course of his reply, Mr. Fuller quotes the description of the thoroughly brahminised Englishman, given by Dr. Tennant, who had been Chaplain to her Majesty's forces in India, during many of the years in which the Bengal Officer had resided there: "It is curious to observe how the indifference, or rather the dislike of some old settlers in India, is expressly against the system of their forefathers. It is compared with the Hindoo Institutions with an affectation of impartiality, while in the meantime the latter system is extolled in its greatest puerilities and follies; its grossest fables are always asserted to convey some hidden, but sound lessons of wisdom. They inveigh against the schemes, disputes and differences of the western world, ascribing them solely to religious dogmata. They palliate the most fanatical and most painful of the Hindoo rites, and never fail in discovering some salutary influence which they shed upon society. Wrapt up in devout admiration of the beauty and sublimity of the Vedas, they affect to triumph in their supposed superiority over the

simplicity of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures." The Bengal Officer took up his pen professedly on the occasion of receiving a manuscript translation of one of the Serampore tracts, the "Gospel-Messenger," and it is upon the expressions contained in it, that he founded his advice to the Court of Directors, now that Serampore was in their possession, to suppress the Mission altogether. The translation was made by some enemy of Christian truth, who did not venture to verify it by his name, and whose object was to rouse the fears and indignation of the Directors and of Government against the Missionaries. Neither was the translation correct. The sentences which had been pointed out in the pamphlet as peculiarly inflammatory were not to be found in it. "Nothing," says Mr. Fuller, "is said in the tract itself about 'their books of philosophy,' nor are they said to be 'fit for the amusement of children.' The Hindoos are not called 'barbarians,' nor their shasters, the shasters of barbarians, nor are they desired to abominate them. Thus has this tract not only been mistranslated, and its mistranslations largely quoted and descanted on, but our adversaries have represented its circulation in India as that which must needs have provoked the natives to rise up against the Missionaries. It was this that Major Scott Waring alleged as a reason why he should not have wondered, if they had thrown them into the Ganges. Yet when the truth comes to be stated, it is found that the inflammatory passages in the tract have been inserted by some unknown person, *engaged in the same cause with himself.*" It was not a translation, but a caricature of the original. Mr. Fuller combated the remarks of the Bengal Officer, under three divisions, the morality of the Hindoo system, the moral character of the Hindoos, and the conduct of the Missionaries and their converts. His refutation of Colonel Stewart's assertions was complete and unanswerable. It would be redundant at this time of day, when the morality of Hindooism, and the morals of its votaries,

are so fully understood, and the public mind in England is so entirely made up on the subject, to recapitulate any portion of Mr. Fuller's reply on these points. He was not aware that the Bengal Officer affected to be a Hindoo when he said: "If the writer be a heathen, let him cast in his lot among heathens. Let him, if he should become intoxicated, attend to the recipe of his 'divine Menu;' let him, in order to atone for his offence, drink more spirit in flame, till he severely burn his body; or, let him drink, boiling hot, until he die, the urine of a cow, or pure water, or juice expressed from cow dung; let him, if he should be vicious, expect to become a cat, or a dog, or some more despicable creature. But we are Christians, and have learned another lesson." Regarding the moral character of the Hindoos, Mr. Fuller cited various authorities from Tamerlane, Dr. Tennant, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir William Jones, and Orme. He alluded more particularly to the instance of audacious mendacity exhibited, in the case of Colonel Wilford, by the priests themselves, in the holiest spot in Hindoostan, at the great fountain of Hindoo learning and religion. That learned antiquary had long resided at Benares, in the society of its learned pundits, with the view of obtaining information from the shasters in the prosecution of his researches into the ancient history of Egypt and India. His own pundit having discovered the points on which the Colonel was desirous of ascertaining the existence of any coincidence between the Hindoo records and those of other nations of antiquity, fabricated sentences to support these analogies, and foisted them into the manuscripts which he produced. The fraud was at length detected, and the pundit disgraced. As a last effort to save his reputation he brought *ten* brahmins, not only as his compurgators, but to swear by whatever was most sacred in their religion, that the extracts were genuine. Colonel Wilford would not permit the ceremonial of perjury to be completed, and dismissed them from his presence with indignation.

The most severe blow, however, which was inflicted on the author of the Vindication of the Hindoos came from a writer whose name did not transpire, who had passed many years in India, and was as much master of the subject as his opponent. He cited Sir William Jones's opinion of the Institutes of Menu, which the Bengal Officer was anxious to extol at the expense of Christianity. "It is a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support. It abounds in minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies equally absurd and often ridiculous; the punishments are partial and fanciful, for some crimes dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight; and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole, are in one or two instances, as in the case of light oaths and perjuries, unaccountably relaxed." The Vindicator had extolled in no measured language the Hindoo goddesses, Doorga Bhuvanee and Kali Bhuvanee as "a speaking picture of good sense, representing the good and evil principle contending for supremacy." Of the latter most loathsome and abominable deity, says his opponent, we have seen in the collection of a friend, a large molten image, which exhibits everything that can be considered disgusting in a female form. The evidence of the superior excellence of the Hindoo religion and morality may be seen, he observes, in the translation of the Calica Pooran, by Mr. Blacquiere, from which he gives the following extracts: "Birds, tortoises, alligators, fish, . . . *men*, and blood drawn from the offerer's own body, are looked upon as proper oblations to the goddess. By a human sacrifice, Devi is pleased one thousand years; and by a sacrifice of three men, one hundred thousand years. . . . Now attend to the particulars relative to the offering of human blood. Let a victim be sacrificed at a place of holy worship, or at a cemetery where dead bodies are buried. . . . Having immolated a human victim with all the requisite ceremonies at a

Reply by an
anonymous
writer.

cemetery or holy place, let the sacrificers be cautious not to cast their eyes on the victim. . . . The victim must be a person of good appearance, and be prepared by ablutions and requisite ceremonies." "When the stroke," says another writer, "which severs the head of the victim from his body, is given, the cymbals strike up, the *Sancha* and *buccinium* are blown, and the whole assembly shouting, besmear their faces with blood, they roll themselves in it, accompanying their dances with obscene songs and gestures." Colonel Stewart asserted that although he had visited many temples of celebrity in Bengal, Benares, Muttra, Canouge, and Hurdwar, and a hundred places besides, he had never witnessed any exhibition at their shrines which had the appearance of indecency. The writer asks whether he had ever seen the Lingam, which is worshipped in every district in India, and then quotes the detestable fable which the shasters give concerning it, and cites from the pages of Sonnerat—an unexceptionable witness—the abominations connected with the worship of it, and adds, "will the Vindicator again ask, 'What can the Missionaries propose to teach to such a people?' If so, may we not ask in our turn, What it is that can be called wise, decent, good, or profitable, concerning the way of salvation, that they have not to learn?" This able pamphlet closed with the following remark: "Teach the people the knowledge of the true God, by an unrestrained circulation of the Holy Scriptures in their own languages, and let holy and sensible men, such as the present Missionaries, who exemplify in their life and conversation the truths contained in the sacred volume, be allowed to instruct them; and let them have, as far as their local situation can admit, the same civil constitution as ourselves, then the *idolatrous superstition of the HINDOOS and the wordly pride and empty boast of the MOHAMEDANS* will yield, not to the force of arms, for Christianity knows nothing of these, but to the enlightening and heart-converting influence of that eternal truth, which when pro-

posed in its simplicity, God will ever accompany with the unction of his spirit; and the truth thus becoming mighty, must necessarily prevail."

To these papers the Bengal Officer soon published an elaborate reply, from which we offer a few quotations, chiefly to show how little regard he considered it necessary to pay to the truth. The statement of Colonel Wilford regarding the falsification of the Hindoo shasters by his pundit, and the offer of ten other pundits to swear that the interpolated passages were genuine, he treats as a fable; simply because it was *impossible* that men so holy as the brahmins could act so basely. "That in the hearing of numbers who understand the sacred language they thus read,—that, seated before the revered altars of their gods, and in the awful presence of that Being, who hears all and sees all,—they should thus wantonly lose sight of every rational principle of common sense, of common honesty, prudence, and discretion seems a degree of mental imbecility and moral turpitude too monstrous for rational conception. . . . It is not true." But in another portion of the pamphlet he endeavoured to palliate the "enormity of this tremendous invocation." "Nor must we here neglect suggesting that, when the pundit so solemnly invoked the vengeance of heaven if the *extracts* were not genuine, he probably meant no more than that they were relatively so, in reference to the *College records*." Had the Bengal Officer been living at a subsequent period in India, he would have heard of brahmin pundits of the Courts receiving bribes to an almost incredible amount for fabricating legal precepts to suit their own interests; he would have known that of all the native functionaries employed in the administration of civil justice, a pundit is the man least to be depended on. Mr. Fuller had stated that even if the shasters had inculcated the most sublime morality, still as they existed only in a language which was not in colloquial use and was intelligible only to a few

Rejoinder of the
Bengal Officer.

students, the public morals of the country could not be benefited thereby. In reply to this, the Bengal Officer—trusting to the ignorance which prevailed on Indian subjects—had the temerity to assert that he had had two or three brahmins in his own family who spoke Sanscrit; that there was scarcely a temple in Hindostan where it was not daily used; that on every occasion when he had attended their temples or their holy convocations the general conversation of the pundits had been invariably in Sanscrit. He was surprised that the Reviewers and his opponents should still appear to be so ignorant of “the exalted idea entertained of the deity by the Hindoos, when there was scarcely a single bearer, who carried the palankeen in India, who had not as exalted a notion of God as ever Socrates entertained. When the Hindoos consider that the divine spark of etherial essence which enlightens our mortal frame, is but a ray from the grand fountain of light, — a celestial fire, — the grand creative principle of life, — BRAHM; when they think thus, and the end so happily sanctifies the means, shall we utterly condemn their mythology?”

A portion of this second Vindication of the Hindoos was devoted to Mr. Fuller's reply, and that of his anonymous friend whom the Bengal Officer charged with aiming to crush him under the terrors of their anathema, but who had sapped the foundations of their cause by their manifest want of temper and by a marked illiberality. There was little, if any, attempt at argument, but the writer endeavoured to compensate for the want of it by a constant recurrence to banter. In the course of twenty-eight pages there were no fewer than nine scraps of poetry, English and French. “Mr. Fuller,” said he, “has indeed made a strange confusion in my hierarchy; jumbling together, most uncereemoniously, brahmins, demons, gods, and demi-gods, and linking them in a *raas jatra*, or equinoctial dance, he has sent them tripping to the spheres shot from the pointed arrow of his wrath.”

He said Mr. Fuller "had been rather severe upon his friend Krishnu. . . . Now, reader, that the Divine Spirit, assuming invisibility, should manifest itself in the person of Krishnu or in any other form, Christians, I presume, should have no difficulty in conceiving, while they believe the living Christ to be God. It is Narayun, therefore, the Divine Spirit, the self-existent God, that in the Geeta is represented in the person of Krishnu conversing with his friend Urjoon," and he then proceeds to illustrate the assertion by a lengthened quotation. In reference to the human sacrifices which the Hindoo shasters have declared to be so acceptable to the gods and goddesses, he says, "Really, gentle reader, I am no more an advocate for human sacrifices than this pious Christian. And, while I lament their having ever occurred, I must yet do the Hindoo the justice to confess my belief that such acts have always proceeded from the most pious motive—a voluntary offering of his best gift by the individual at the throne of grace, as an atonement for sin, in the fervent hope of that mercy which justifies the ways of God to man."

One of the most important contributions to the Missionary cause, during this severe controversy, was the pamphlet compiled by Lord Teignmouth. It was entitled, "Considerations on the Practicability, Policy, and Obligation of communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity, with Observations on Major Scott Waring's Pamphlet." It was distinguished by clear and irrefragable argument, and it was calculated to carry conviction to the mind, not only from the perfect mastery of the subject which thirty years of Indian experience had given the writer, but also from the temperate and dignified tone in which it was written. The occasion which called forth the pamphlet is thus described: "It is much to be regretted that a measure of such momentous consideration as the propagation of Christianity among the natives of Hindoostan should have

Lord Teignmouth's pamphlet.

been first introduced to public notice by its avowed opponents It has been brought forward in a manner which places the advocates for it in the light of mad enthusiasts, who think all political danger is to be disregarded, when it comes in competition with their peculiar notions A desire to communicate Christianity to the native subjects of our Indian empire, is represented as the suggestion of bigotry, and the attempt is stigmatised as a new mania for conversion unaccountably taken up; as a wild and impracticable plan impossible by human means, and which must end in our destruction." These expressions, he said, were quoted from the Preface to a pamphlet of Major Scott Waring, who "deprecates the imputation of indifference for the eternal welfare of the people of India, and professes a veneration for the Holy Scriptures, and a respect for 'our good old Church,' and yet doubts whether we can be justified in attempting to convert the people of India, were it probable even that we could succeed at any distant period of time." To this Lord Teignmouth replies, "If to convert the Hindoos to Christianity be indeed impossible, and if the attempt must end in our extermination, we must, with whatever reluctance, relinquish it But the advocates for the propagation of Christianity in India, are not yet reduced to this desponding condition. They feel that much may be urged on their side of the question, to show, that the perils, which have been represented as so terrific on the ground of late transactions in India, have been grossly misconceived and overrated; that the prejudices of the Hindoos, however great, are not invincible; that the opinions adopted on this subject are not the more solid because they are of ancient birth and full growth; that the conversion of the Hindoos is not impracticable; and that, in a political view merely, it is a most desirable event. To elucidate and establish these positions, will be the object of my endeavours in the following sheets."

Major Scott Waring had stated that the mutiny at

Vellore was partly imputable to the great increase of missionaries, to their being *Englishmen*, and to the circulation of the Scriptures and religious books and pamphlets. Lord Teignmouth shows that the whole number of missionaries on the Coast was *five*, and that they were all foreigners, and that their appearance was not *new* to the natives. The Major's attack was directed to the Serampore missionaries, who were all in Bengal, and to the Scriptures and religious tracts which they had printed and circulated, but, "not a line of the Scriptures in any of the languages current on the Coast had then issued from the Serampore Press; and his object was to impose on the credulity and ignorance of the English public, and to support his demand for the recall of the Serampore missionaries, by connecting their labours with the Vellore mutiny." The Major having stated that alarm and apprehension pervaded every quarter of Hindostan from these missionary proceedings, Lord Teignmouth observes, that it was somewhat singular that the proceedings which were said to have caused so universal an alarm should have attracted little notice either in India or in Europe before the occurrence of the calamitous mutiny at Vellore. "English missionaries at that period had resided in Bengal above fourteen years; they had enjoyed the countenance and support of Marquis Wellesley, and the translation of the Scriptures into the dialects of India was begun during his Lordship's administration; . . . and, if such apprehensions had generally prevailed among the natives of Bengal, the Governor-General would not have omitted to point them out, with their causes, and to have made a very serious representation on the subject to the Court of Directors. That such a representation has *not* been made, I am authorised to affirm by private assurance from authentic sources . . . The proceedings of the missionaries in Bengal—that is, at Serampore,—and the measures adopted there for the propagation of Christianity, have had no influence whatever on the popular feelings

of the natives of the Carnatic. The latter know no more of the missionaries in Bengal than of those in Africa or Carass."

Lord Teignmouth next combated and demolished the assertion that the Government of India had never interfered with the laws and usages of the natives, and affirms that while it had been the invariable policy of every administration to protect the natives in the free exercise of their respective religions, and to pay due attention to their laws and local customs, usages originating in Hindoo superstition, and customs of immemorial prescription had been discountenanced and discontinued by the British administration in Bengal. He showed how utterly unfounded was the Major's assertion, that the collection of the revenues and the administration of justice had been conducted agreeably to the laws of the Koran and the Shaster;—the financial system which prevailed when the Company undertook the Government was one of undefined exactions and arbitrary oppression, and the British Government was entitled to the merit of having annihilated it. The *corah*, or whip, under the Mahomedan Government, was considered a necessary appendage of the country courts, where the collections were made, and the application of it was incessant and severe; but the adoption of any such a practice would now be severely punished by the administration which had humanely abolished it. His Lordship then adduced various instances to show that while the Mahomedan law had been retained as the basis of our criminal code, it had been so materially altered to suit the claims of justice and equity, that it could no longer be considered as the same code. Lord Teignmouth then passed on to the practicability of converting the Hindoos to the doctrines of Christianity; and he supported his argument by a reference to the nation of the Sikhs, who have broken off from the orthodox creed of Hindooism, to the increase of Mahomedans, to the existence of the St. Thomé Christians, and the

number of converts made on the Coast by the Protestant missionaries during the previous century, and drew this inference. "From the facts stated, we are authorised to draw the conclusion that millions of Hindoos have been converted to the Mahomedan faith, and that hundreds of thousands have embraced the doctrines of Christianity. With equal advantages and exertion on the side of Christianity, disclaiming all idea of persecution which it abhors, the disproportion might have been reversed." In reference to the morals of the natives, he quoted the opinion of Gilchrist, "that the most unerring index to the national character of any people was to learn what their own sentiments were of each other, and he said he might safely affirm that no people showed more reciprocal distrust than existed among the individuals of every tribe and family in India." He also referred to the judgment passed by Sir William Jones on the most orthodox, intelligent, and influential class among the Hindoos, the pundits, when he said, "I can no longer be at the mercy of our *pundits*, who deal out the Hindoo law as they please, and make it, at reasonable rates, when they cannot find it ready made;" and added, "If such be the character of the learned expounders of the Hindoo law, men of the religious class, we cannot expect a higher degree of moral principle in the people at large." Lord Teignmouth considered it strange that "while every other religion in India is left undisturbed, while the doctrines of the Koran are freely circulated, and those of the Vedas and Shasters left unmolested, the Government of a country professing the Christian religion is called upon to exert its power for barring out every scattered ray of that religious and moral light which, through the endeavours of any charitable individuals among us, might otherwise shine upon the inhabitants of that benighted land;" and he closed his pamphlet with these remarks: "I have no wish to limit that toleration which has hitherto been observed with respect to their religion, laws, and customs, On the contrary, I hold a perseve-

rance in the system of toleration, not only just in itself, but as essentially necessary to facilitate the means used for their conversion. But I should consider a prohibition of the translation and circulation of our Holy Scriptures, and the recall of the missionaries, most fatal prognostics with respect to the permanency of the British dominion in India."

These publications have passed into oblivion with the discussions which gave birth to them. One attack on the Serampore Missionaries has alone survived the excitement of that period, and, after the lapse of fifty years, still continues to attract attention in the collected works of Sydney Smith. His intense aversion to every movement and every individual connected with Methodism, either in England or abroad, led him to publish an article in the *Edinburgh Review* of April, 1808, characterised more by the attribute of wit and sarcasm than of equity and a sound judgment. The journals of the missionaries had described the vivid impression made on their minds by the novel scenes into which they were thrown. They were written in the confidence of private friendship, and were never intended for the public eye. They were injudiciously published, without revision or pruning, in the *Periodical Accounts* of the Society, and from them Sydney Smith culled whatever offended his taste or savoured of Evangelism, and endeavoured to turn the extracts into ridicule by quaint headings, such as "Brother Carey's piety at sea;" "Mr. Ward admires the captain;" "Mr. Ward is frightened by a privateer;" "Mr. Ward feels a regard for the sailors;" "Mr. Fountain's gratitude to Hervey." At the present day such a style of criticism would be considered more adapted to the columns of *Punch* than to the pages of a great Review. Nothing indeed would be easier than to turn even the inimitable letters of Sydney Smith himself into ridicule by the same malicious process of satirical heading. To exhibit the danger of missionary exertions in India, every instance of opposition the mis-

sionaries had encountered from the natives was carefully extracted from their letters and inserted in the article with the portentous title of "Alarm of the natives at the preaching of the Gospel;" "Hatred of the natives to the Gospel;" "Hatred of the natives;" "Hatred to the Gospel." These various extracts closed with the following remark: "It would perhaps be more prudent to leave the question of sending missions to India to the effect of these extracts, which appear to us to be quite decisive, both as to the danger of insurrection from the prosecution of the scheme, the utter unfitness of the persons employed in it, and the complete hopelessness of the attempt while pursued in such circumstances as now exist." The article then went on to offer "some sort of reply" to the arguments brought by the "Evangelical party, who have got possession of our Eastern empire." It is singular that such an assertion should have been made at a time when it was well known that the anti-missionary feeling was in the ascendant both in Leadenhall Street and in the Council-chamber in Calcutta, and the missionaries were trembling for the existence of their institution. The argument which he employed against the introduction of Christianity into India ran in this strain: all such attempts will inevitably be supposed to originate with Government, for "the omnipotence of Government is well known to the natives;" the attempt to proselyte will infallibly entail the loss of the empire; at the same time, in consequence of the institution of caste and the tenacity of the religious feelings of the natives, there is no prospect of success, and even if there were, the conversion of the natives would be merely nominal. The article was, in fact, little else than a repetition of the arguments and assertions of Major Scott Waring, adorned and invigorated by the brilliancy of Sydney Smith's genius. If there be any strength in the facts he adduces or any soundness in his reasoning, it would unquestionably be the bounden duty of England to proscribe every attempt to substitute Christianity for Hin-

dooism in all time to come, and to rest satisfied with the conclusion that the Hindoos are destined for ever to worship cows and monkeys. The gauntlet which Sydney Smith had thrown down was promptly taken up by the Reverend John Styles, one of the ablest writers in the Congregational denomination, who published "Strictures on two critiques in the Edinburgh Review on the subject of Methodism and Missions." The work was written with such talent and spirit as to call forth a rejoinder from the pen of Sydney Smith in the Review of April, 1809, which was marked by a more than ordinary infusion of that pungent satire of which he was so great a master. It opened thus: "In rooting out a nest of consecrated cobblers, and in bringing to light such a perilous heap of trash as we were obliged to work through, in our articles upon the Methodists and Missionaries, we are generally conceived to have rendered an useful service to the cause of rational religion." Whether Dr. Carey's reputation has suffered any permanent injury by the soubriquet of 'consecrated cobbler' bestowed on him by the reverend reviewer, we leave to the present age to decide. But the article exhibited not only the greatest licence of sarcasm, but misrepresentations of facts and opinions, which were calculated to inflict serious damage on the character of honourable men. What, for instance, could be more entirely foreign to fact than the assertion, applied to the Serampore Missionaries that, "the darling passion in the soul of every missionary is, not to teach the great leading truths of the Christian faith, but to enforce the little paltry modification and distinction which he first taught from his own tub?" On the subject of tolerating missionaries he made the following liberal and gentlemanly remark: "The missionaries complain of intolerance. A weasel might as well complain of intolerance when he is throttled for sucking eggs. Toleration for their own opinions—toleration for their domestic worship, for their private groans and convulsions, they possess in the fullest extent, but

who ever heard of toleration for intolerance? who ever before heard men cry out that they were persecuted because they might not insult the religion, shock the feelings, irritate the passions of their fellow-creatures, and throw a whole colony into bloodshed and confusion?" Such were the sentiments entertained by Sydney Smith, and the Whigs, of whom he was one of the ablest champions, on the subject of evangelising India. But the cause of Missions has survived this attack, and the character of the Serampore Missionaries has derived additional brightness from this effort to eclipse it. With the sincerest admiration for the splendid powers of the reviewer, it is still to be regretted that they had not been applied to a nobler object than that of impeding the progress of divine truth in India. The two articles on Missions were a mistake, and we have it on the testimony of one of his most intimate friends that he lived to perceive it, and we believe also to regret it.

This missionary controversy terminated with an article in the Quarterly Review of April, 1809, from the pen of Southey. It was intended to counteract the representations of Sydney Smith, and to vindicate the character of the Serampore Missionaries, and both objects were most effectually accomplished. The various positions of the first article in the Edinburgh Review were separately assailed and subverted by a powerful array of facts and arguments. The writer detailed at considerable length the history of the Serampore Mission down to the latest period. He demonstrated that the Vellore mutiny was not to be ascribed to the efforts of the missionaries, and that it afforded no ground to justify their recall. He then entered upon an examination of the question whether the British Government in India was exposed to any danger from the toleration of missionaries, for "that fierce and fiery Calvinist, Andrew Fuller, most truly says, that 'the question in dispute is not whether the natives shall enjoy toleration, but whether that toleration shall be extended to the teachers of Christianity?'" In the course of his

argument, he affirmed that "though persecution has been in many instances the cause of rebellion, none of those instances are to be found in the history of Hindoostan;" and he supported the assertion by irrefragable testimony drawn from history. It had been boldly maintained that it was impossible to convert the Hindoos, and he demonstrated the possibility of conversion, by a reference to the Christians of St. Thomé, originally Hindoos; to the existence of ten millions of Mahomedans, few of whom, comparatively speaking, were immigrants; to the secession of the whole nation of the Sikhs from Hindooism; and to the constant rise and development of heterodox sects at the Bengal Presidency. "But why should we convert the Hindoos? because our duty to God and man alike requires the attempt. Why should we convert them? because policy requires it, religion requires it, common humanity requires it. Why should we convert them? because they who permit the evil which they can prevent, are guilty of that evil, and to them shall it be imputed." After having disposed of these general questions, Southey entered upon the last objection, 'the utter unfitness of the missionaries for their work.' "They have been treated," he remarked, "with the peculiar insolence, injustice, and want of all good feeling, which mark the criticism of the present time. Such qualities as these are seldom far removed from ignorance; accordingly, the missionaries have by a wretched vulgarity been called Anabaptists:—a name which, like that of Manichean in former times, has served the same purpose in ecclesiastical, that the watchword of the day has in political controversy. The objection has been repeated from the pulpit, and Dr. Barrow recommends that no missionaries may be suffered to appear in India but those of the Established Church. Lastly, they are called fools, madmen, tinkers, &c. Claudius Buchanan recommends a Church establishment for India. It is highly desirable that there should be one, not for the honour only of the British people,—who,

God be praised, are, and ever will be, a religious people — but even for the sake of public decency. . . . There would be no difficulty in filling up the establishment, however ample ; but would the archbishop, bishops, deans and chapters of Mr. Buchanan's plan do the work of missionaries? where are they to be found among them? In what school for the promulgation of sound and orthodox learning are they trained up? There is ability and there is learning in the Church of England, but its age of fermentation has long been over ; and that zeal which, for this work is the most needful, is, we fear, possessed only by the Methodists." He then endeavoured to extenuate the strange appropriations of Scriptural phraseology by the missionaries, by a reference to their labours : " When Carey mourns over the leanness of his own soul, and has much sweetness in a sermon — and when Fountain remembers to have had pretty strong convictions of sin, and remorse of conscience at eight or nine years old, it is pitiable to find such men expressing themselves in such a fashion, but it were more pitiable if we despised them because their fashion is not as ours ; if we did not pass lightly over the weakness of men, who have the zeal and the sincerity, the self-denial and the self-devotement of apostles." The article was wound up with a high eulogium on the character and the conduct of the Serampore Missionaries : — " We who have thus vindicated them, are neither blind to what is erroneous in their doctrine, nor ludicrous in their phraseology : but the anti-missionaries cull out from their journals and letters all that is ridiculous, sectarian and trifling ; call them fools, madmen, tinkers, Calvinists and schismatics : and keep out of sight their love of man, and their zeal for God, and their self-devotement, their indefatigable industry, their unequalled learning. These low-born and low-bred mechanics have translated the whole Bible into Bengalee, and have by this time printed it. They are printing the New Testament in the Sanscrit, the Orissa, the Mahratta, the Hindoostanee, and the Guzerattee,

and translating it into Persic, Telinga, Carnata, Chinese, the language of the Sikhs, and of the Burmans, and in four of these languages they are going on with the Bible. Extraordinary as this is, it will appear more so, when it is remembered that of these men, one was originally a shoemaker, another a printer at Hull, and a third a master of a charity school at Bristol. Only fourteen years have elapsed since Thomas and Carey set foot in India, and in that time these missionaries have acquired this gift of tongues. In fourteen years these low-born, low-bred mechanics have done more towards spreading the knowledge of the Scriptures among the heathen, than has been accomplished, or even attempted, by all the world besides."

This review of the Missionary controversy of 1808, may be very appropriately closed by an extract from a letter of Sir James Mackintosh, at Bombay, to Mr. Charles Grant:—"Mr. Twining's pamphlet is the most singular publication I have seen. He seems to think that the preaching of Christianity is generally acknowledged to be a crime so atrocious, 'as to be hated needs but to be seen.' He publishes extracts of the proceedings of a society which proposes to circulate the Bible in India, as he would private papers, proving a conspiracy to commit treason, which require no comment, and must of themselves excite general indignation. The only measure which he could consistently propose would be the infliction of capital punishment on the crime of preaching, or embracing Christianity in India, for almost every inferior degree of persecution is already practised by European or native Anti-Christians."

CHAP. VIII.

WE now turn to the progress of events at Serampore. The hostility manifested towards all missionary efforts by the government of Lord Minto, at the com-

Position of the
Mission at the be-
ginning of 1808.

mencement of his administration, placed the missionaries in a new and difficult position. It did not, however, produce any relaxation of their efforts; on the contrary, every additional pressure appeared to give fresh elasticity to their minds. Writing to Mr. Fuller, at the beginning of 1808, Dr. Carey said: "Our deliverance has been great, and it may, indeed, be said that God has stretched forth his hand against the wrath of his enemies, and that his right hand has saved us. I believe that Government has no hostile feeling against us now, though there are individuals who wish to crush the gospel." But the unfounded alarm which had led Government to interfere with the labours of the missionaries, though in some measure allayed, was by no means extinct. A morbid dread of danger from missionary exertions of any description still haunted the Council-chamber. The Armenian and Portuguese attendants at the little chapel in the Chitpore road, which had been closed on receiving the deposition of the magistrate's spy, petitioned Government to grant the Serampore Missionaries liberty to preach to them in the Bengalee language, in which alone they were able to receive instruction. But the request, however reasonable and innocuous, was refused. The missionaries were thus excluded from all preaching in the vernacular tongue in the metropolis, except at their own house. Under the general regulations of Government they could not send missionaries into the

interior of the country without permission, and this permission had been denied them. "But this difficulty," writes Dr. Carey, "we shall endeavour to evade, that is, we shall run the risk of the missionaries being sent back to Serampore by the magistrate. On this principle we are hoping to send my son William to Chittagong and brother Robinson to Orissa." They hoped by patient and quiet perseverance gradually to wear out the opposition of Government. It was in reference to the issue of religious tracts and treatises that the restrictions imposed on them were at first most keenly felt. They were required to submit the manuscript of every publication to the inspection of the Secretary, and could not print a single page without his imprimatur. Unfortunately, Government had affirmed that it was pledged to protect the natives from molestation in the exercise of their religion; and any animadversion on their creed or practice was considered an act of molestation, within the scope of the pledge. The governor of Serampore had, however, enquired whether the Bible in the native language was included in the prohibition, and had been informed that "the British Government was not aware of any objection to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular tongues, if unaccompanied by any comments on the religions of the country." The missionaries were thus at liberty to print and circulate the Scriptures in the language of inspiration, and they freely availed themselves of the privilege.

The rupture between the courts of England and Denmark in September, 1807, was followed up by the occupation of Serampore. On the morning of the 28th of January, 1808, three companies of Second capture of Serampore by the English. Sepoys crossed the river from the cantonment of Barrackpore, and the commander demanded the surrender of the town and factory. The request was complied with, as a matter of course. With a small garrison of forty native soldiers, and the few honeycombed guns which had

been used as a saluting battery for half a century, it would have been an act of folly to offer the least resistance to the British power. All the Danish vessels lying off the town or in the river, twelve in number, and of 4600 tons burden, together with the valuable merchandise collected in the warehouses at Serampore, served to enrich the captors. Thus fell the prosperity of Serampore, fifty-three years after the Danish colours had been first hoisted in the town. It was subsequently restored to Denmark after the termination of the war, in 1815, but the Danish East India Company never recovered the blow inflicted by the confiscation of its property and the extinction of its capital in 1808. During the intermediate period, trade had been working itself into new channels. The exports from Serampore had consisted chiefly of the piece goods of India, but the manufactures of England had already begun to encroach upon that traffic, and they soon after entirely superseded the textile fabrics of the East, which had enjoyed a high reputation in Europe for eighteen centuries. After Serampore had been thus restored to the crown of Denmark, it was visited by one solitary merchantman, which returned to Copenhagen without remuneration, and the foreign trade of the town ceased, never to revive. The capture of the town by the British authorities was naturally calculated to create apprehension in the minds of the missionaries. The friendly Government of Denmark had now lost the power of affording them protection, and they were at the mercy of those who, not six months before, had determined to break up their press and establishment. Happily, Lord Minto had recovered from the panic of the Vellore mutiny; he had, moreover, become personally acquainted with the character and views of the missionaries, and the disposition to interfere with their labours had subsided. On the establishment of the British authority in the town, they were, therefore, allowed to pursue their avocations without hindrance. If the town had been occupied by

the British during the alarm of the previous year, their plans of usefulness might have been seriously affected. Happily it continued in the hands of the Danish Government just long enough to afford the necessary protection to the missionaries, and to enable them to tide over an important and difficult crisis. By the time of its capture, the storm had blown over.

The friendly disposition of Lord Minto towards the missionaries was still further manifested in the succeeding month of February. Mr. Harington, one of the judges of the Sudder court in Calcutta, had presided at an examination of the Chinese class at Serampore, and mentioned the progress which had been made in the cultivation of that language to Lord Minto. The fact, which was at first received with some incredulity, was subsequently corroborated by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Brown, who had been present on the occasion, and Lord Minto introduced a very complimentary notice of these literary exertions into his address at the next anniversary of the College of Fort William. He said: —

Lord Minto's patronage of the Chinese class.

“I am, in truth, strongly inclined, whether regularly or not, to deal one encouraging word to the meritorious, and, I hope, not unsuccessful effort, making, I may say, at the door of our College, though not admitted to its portico, to force that hitherto impregnable fortress, the Chinese language. The means, we all know, that, in the present circumstances, can be employed in that difficult undertaking, are very inconsiderable. The honour is so much the greater to those, whose enterprise seems already to have opened at least a prospect of success. Three young men, I ought, indeed, to say, boys, have not only acquired a ready use of the Chinese language for the purpose of oral communications, which I understand is neither difficult nor rare amongst Europeans connected with China; but they have achieved, in a degree worthy of admiration, that which has been deemed scarcely within the reach of European faculties or industry; I mean, a very extensive and correct acquaintance with the written language of China. I will not detail the particulars of the examinations which took place on the 10th of this month at Serampore, in the Chinese language, the report of which,

however, I have read with great interest, and recommend to the liberal notice of those whom I have the honour to address. It is enough for my present purpose to say, that these young pupils read Chinese books and translate them; and they write compositions of their own in the Chinese language and character. A Chinese press too is established and in actual use. In a word, if the founders and supporters of this little College have not yet dispelled, they have at least rent and admitted a dawn of day through that thick impenetrable cloud: they have passed that *oceanum dissociabilem*, which for so many ages has insulated that vast empire from the rest of mankind. Let us entertain at least the hope, that a perseverance in this or similar attempts, may let in at length upon those multitudes the contraband and long-forbidden blessing of human intercourse and social improvement. I must not omit to recommend the zealous and persevering labours of Mr. Lassar, and those learned and pious persons associated with him, who have accomplished, for the future benefit, we may hope, of that immense and populous region, Chinese versions in the Chinese character, of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, throwing open that precious mine, with all its religious and moral treasures, to the largest associated population in the world."

The Serampore Missionaries had contemplated a mission to Chittagong, and another to Orissa, but knowing the alarm still entertained by Government regarding their movements, Dr. Carey thought it prudent to ascertain, if possible, the sentiments of some of its leading members on the subject. He wrote to Mr. Colebrooke, his personal and literary friend, who had recently been elevated to the Council Board, to enquire whether it was likely that permission would be granted to his son William to occupy land at Chittagong, and commence a coffee and tea plantation. Mr. Colebrooke replied that there could be no objection to his son's residing in the district, any more than to any other person's doing so, provided he had no view to the making of proselytes. It was evident, therefore, that although a trader or a planter might settle in the interior without any difficulty, a missionary would not be tolerated; the intended mission was therefore relinquished. It appeared, moreover, still

Contemplated
Mission to Chit-
tagong and
Pooree.

less probable that Government would consent to the residence of a missionary in the *poonya-bhume*, the "sacred land of Juggernath," as the province of Orissa is designated by the natives. That idolatrous shrine had now been adopted as one of the institutions of the British Government, and its prosperity was identified with the interests of the state. There was, therefore, no hope that any missionary would be allowed to engage in "public preachings at Juggernath offensive to the religious persuasion of the people," or to circulate tracts which might give any "molestation" to the hierarchy at Pooree. Mr. Robinson was, therefore, informed by his Serampore brethren that they considered the way for the introduction of the Gospel into Orissa blocked up, and could perceive no prospect of obtaining a settlement for him within the British dominions. They offered him the choice of Bootan, Mission to Bootan. Assam, or Aracan. He selected Bootan, and Dr. Carey's second son, Mr. William Carey, determined to accompany him. In the course of the year they proceeded towards their destination with a judicious letter of instructions from Serampore, in which they were particularly cautioned to avoid the civil or military stations of the British Government on the frontier. But on entering the Bootan territory, they found the country distracted by factions and intestine war, and they concluded that there was little hope of being able, under such circumstances, to prosecute their peaceful mission with success; they returned, therefore, to Serampore to look out for some more promising sphere of labour. It is not without interest to notice that both these young missionaries who entered Bootan in company, survived all their contemporaries, and, having laboured with zeal and fidelity in the field of missions for a period of forty-five years, died within a few months of each other in the year 1853.

In the month of March of the present year, Dr. Carey and his colleagues were unhappily brought a second time into collision with their friend, Mr. Brown, owing to

the very questionable measures pursued by Mr. Buchanan in reference to the translations. The Translation Fund consisted primarily of subscriptions to "Proposals," which bore no signature but that of the

Differences with Mr. Brown relative to the Translation Fund.

Serampore Missionaries, and referred only to labours in which they were engaged. They considered themselves, therefore, as possessing a paramount right to the fund, and as standing responsible to the public for the application of it. The legacy which Mr. Grant, of Malda, had bequeathed in aid of the translations, was, in their opinion, intended to strengthen this fund, though there was some ambiguity in the wording of the will. On leaving Calcutta to embark for England, in November, 1807, Mr. Buchanan directed the treasurers of the fund not to pay away a single rupee of these subscriptions, except to the joint order of Mr. Brown and Mr. Udney. It was not till five months after his departure, that Dr. Carey and his colleagues became aware, and only accidentally, of this proceeding, and they parted with him, therefore, in a spirit of friendliness with which they were subsequently taunted, when a real knowledge of the circumstance led them to modify their opinion of him. They felt that a measure so deeply involving their interests, should have been directly communicated to them. They likewise discovered that, in an official letter transmitted to the Governor-General in Council, upbraiding him with having discouraged missions, Mr. Buchanan had distinctly avowed that his chief reason for endeavouring to associate the translations with the College of Fort William, was to prevent their falling into the hands of Dissenters, as they had since done. After this disclosure of Mr. Buchanan's disingenuousness, at a time when he was professing great cordiality towards them, Dr. Carey and his colleagues felt it impossible to regard any of his movements without mistrust. On the other hand, Mr. Brown reposed the most implicit confidence in his friend, and regarded him with feelings of the deepest homage. A cor-

respondence ensued, which increased in acerbity as it proceeded; but it is not necessary to withdraw the veil which time has drawn over this unhappy disagreement. Suffice it, therefore, to say that Mr. Brown, on finding that he had been invested with the control of these translation funds, unknown to himself, offered to resign it to the missionaries, but Mr. Marshman declined it on the part of his colleagues, and stated that it appeared to them more advisable to communicate direct with the Christian public in India, and with the Bible Society in England, through the medium of their own Society and its secretary. The missionaries had also declined to act on the Corresponding Committee of the Bible Society, after the treatment they had experienced, and Mr. Brown added the names of four chaplains to it, all members of the Church of England. On the 8th of April, this remodelled committee came to the resolution of printing the Chinese Scriptures, Mr. Martyn's Hindoostanee and Sabat's Persian version, and they offered the Serampore missionaries assistance for the publication of three of their versions. The fund from which these disbursements were to be made, consisted of 8753rs., which was all that remained of the translation subscriptions, and Mr. Grant's legacy, and the 2000*l.* which had been voted by the Bible Society in London. Mr. Brown, in announcing the reconstruction of the committee to his friends at Serampore, stated that the new committee would treat any proposals which might be made to them with impartiality. They took this letter to signify that they were to obtain no assistance from funds raised in India on the strength of their names, or voted in London on the report of their labours, except as it might be sanctioned by Mr. Brown and Mr. Udney and their new associates. They declined the aid thus offered them, and refused to compromise their liberty of action by subordination to a committee chosen under such circumstances, and after referring the matter

to Mr. Fuller, prepared to encounter the pecuniary difficulties to which they might be subjected.

To relieve their immediate necessities, Mr. Marshman determined to make a vigorous effort to raise funds for the translations in Calcutta. Though eight months had scarcely elapsed since the hostility of Government to their mission had been unequivocally manifested, he determined to begin with the Governor-General, and solicit his patronage for the publication of the Scriptures in the Eastern languages. The lively interest Lord Minto had taken in the Chinese studies prosecuted at Serampore rendered it advisable to bring the Chinese version more prominently into view on this occasion. The translation of the New Testament into that language, the joint production of Mr. Marshman and his tutor, Mr. Lassar, was now ready for the press. But Mr. Marshman was met at the threshold of his work by the difficulty arising out of the peculiar nature of Chinese printing. It is scarcely necessary to remark that all Chinese books have been printed, from time immemorial, not with moveable metallic types, as in Europe, but from blocks of wood, on which each character is separately engraved by the burin. No artists versed in this mode of typographical engraving were to be obtained in Calcutta, where the Chinese immigrants consisted almost exclusively of shoemakers and carpenters. About twenty years before this period, a European had established a factory for printing calicoes about two miles from Serampore, and instructed several natives in the art of engraving his patterns upon blocks of tamarind wood. It occurred to Mr. Marshman that the men who carved these delicate designs on wood, could also engrave Chinese characters. Two of the most expert of their number were, therefore, engaged for the experiment, and a square block of tamarind wood was prepared, equal in thickness to the usual height of the type. Two pages of the Gospel of St. Matthew, written with great care on a sheet of thin paper, were then

Mr. Marshman's
endeavours to
collect for the
Translations in
Calcutta.

pasted reversely on the wood and given to them. After repeated failures, they succeeded in producing a specimen of Chinese printing, not equal to the productions of the Imperial press at Peking, but still sufficiently distinct to be legible, and affording every prospect of improvement by habit and experience. With these interesting specimens of the first rude attempt at Chinese typography in India Mr. Marshman went to Calcutta, to consult his friend, Dr. Leyden, on the question of soliciting subscriptions for the publication of the translations. In his letter to Mr. Fuller on the subject, he remarks:—"Leyden has little religion, but he is a bold, honest fellow, greatly in request with Lord Minto, who has recently appointed him judge and magistrate in the district around Calcutta. He is fond of me. I do not clash with his hobby, that of being a universal linguist. I care not for this bubble, and therefore assist him in the Chinese. He approved my statement, and encouraged the idea of having an audience with Lord Minto, and urged me to bring forward the Chinese specimen without delay."

In pursuance of this advice, Dr. Carey and Mr. Marshman waited on Lord Minto, and presented him with the specimen of Chinese printing, and likewise with sheets of all the other versions in the press. They mentioned the embarrassment occasioned by the exhaustion of their funds, and asked him to countenance a subscription for the translations. Lord Minto expressed his surprise at the extent and success of their labours, but was more particularly gratified with the first sheet of the Chinese New Testament. China was at that time so entirely a *terra incognita* to Europeans, that everything connected with it was invested with a romantic interest, and this specimen of the Gospel of St. Matthew translated into that unknown and hitherto inaccessible language, by one who had never been in China, and engraved by natives of India, appeared to him a singular instance of public spirit and perseverance. But

Interview of Dr.
Carey and Mr.
Marshman with
Lord Minto.

when they pressed him regarding the subscription, he desired a few days to consider it. At the next interview, a week after, he said, in the most friendly spirit, that if he could possibly step out of himself, and separate his public from his private character, he would at once head the list, but he had consulted his colleagues, and they considered it unadvisable for the head of the Government to appear in an undertaking which might not meet with the approval of the Court of Directors. Mr. Marshman spent the evening in discussing the question with Dr. Leyden, who told him that the functionaries of Government would probably be deterred likewise by political reasons from supporting the translations, but if a proposal for publishing a translation of Confucius into English was submitted to them, the most liberal encouragement might be expected, and he and his colleagues would thus be furnished with an early supply of funds. On leaving Dr. Leyden at midnight, Mr. Marshman drew up the prospectus regarding Confucius, and returning to Serampore the next morning, put it to press. The following day he went down to Calcutta, and waited on the Judges of the Supreme Court, and solicited their patronage of Confucius, or of the translations, or of both ; but he found that little progress could be expected without the name of the Governor-General. He therefore transmitted the paper to Lord Minto, who immediately signified his approval of the undertaking, and encouraged it by a subscription of ten copies, in a very complimentary letter, which served to stimulate the liberality of the community. The prospectus stated that a translation of Confucius into English, and of the Sacred Scriptures into Chinese was in the press at Serampore, and that the profits derived from the sale of Confucius would be applied to the publication of the Scriptures. Fortified by the Governor-General's letter, Mr. Marshman waited personally on every gentleman of eminence, in and out of the service, in Calcutta. In every instance he experienced the kindest reception, but more

particularly from Mr. Edmonstone, the Secretary to Government, who appeared anxious to efface the remembrance of his recent hostility to their missionary undertaking, and not only encouraged the publication of the Chinese classic, but put his name down for a donation of 30*l.* to the translations. The subscription list of Confucius contained the name of every gentleman of influence in Calcutta. In a few days Mr. Marshman obtained subscriptions of the value of 2000*l.*, which were destined collaterally to aid the publication of the translations, for which he also obtained direct contributions to the extent of 300*l.* Having completed the canvass of Calcutta, he determined to visit Madras with the same object, and as the south-west monsoon had set in, he proposed to proceed by land, and procured the usual passport, but was happily induced to forego a journey which, at that season, the most oppressive of the year; might have proved fatal.

The report of the violent proceedings of the Government in Calcutta in the months of August and September, 1807, reached England just as the storm raised by the pamphlets of Mr. Twining, Major Scott Waring, and Colonel Stewart had begun to subside. The minds of Mr. Fuller and of the friends of the mission were filled with the most gloomy forebodings. Mr. Charles Grant requested Mr. Fuller to come up to London, as he found the Mission was "crippled, if not crushed." He was discouraged to find that the tracts which had been sent into circulation by the missionaries, were so little able to bear scrutiny, and was mortified in "being obliged, as chairman of the Court of Directors, to lay these communications before its members, with several of whom he had pleaded on behalf of the Mission with all his might." He subsequently wrote in great dejection of spirits: "If these translations are just, the good men have been wanting in prudence and circumspection. They have given too much occasion to those who seek occasion, and have been the means of great mortification and

Result in England of the persecution of 1807.

trouble to those circumstanced as I am, who have a difficult battle to fight standing on the best ground, but am sadly weakened and hampered when the ground will not support me." Mr. Fuller informed Dr. Carey that Mr. Grant had sent him the translation of a tract, entitled the "Rise of Wisdom," and he expressed great surprise that such a publication should have issued from their press. Mr. Fuller observed that he could not believe it to have been sanctioned by his friends; that, if it had been, he must give them up at once as utterly unfit for their stations, and scarcely worthy of toleration. The tract was composed by a learned Brahmin, intimately acquainted with the dogmas of the Hindoo creed, and disgusted with its priestcraft and superstition; the language was therefore more pungent and severe than that which a European would have been disposed to use. But it must not be forgotten that the translation of this tract, as well as of all the others, was made in a spirit of the most unscrupulous hostility to the missionaries, and with the undisguised object of enflaming the Government in India and in England against them. The translation was grossly and wantonly incorrect, a mere caricature of the original; with the exception of the word "tyrant," as applied to Mahomed, which had been foisted in without the knowledge of the missionaries, there was not an expression which would not have been found susceptible of a different and unexceptionable signification. If the government of the day had not been acting under the influence of panic and prejudice, the unfairness of proscribing the tracts, and entering on a crusade against those who had issued them, without giving them an opportunity of vindicating the character the pamphlets, would have been at once apparent. Nor would the Government, disregarding an invariable rule, have admitted the fidelity of translations which were not authenticated by the signature of the translator. The missionaries were condemned without a hearing. Moreover, it has been already stated, that about two years

before this time, some natives in Calcutta submitted several of the Serampore tracts to a member of Government, known to be inimical to missions. He determined to bring the subject forward officially, but was persuaded by Mr. Buchanan to procure a translation of the tracts before he committed himself. The translations were made, and the tracts appeared so unobjectionable, that the design of appealing to Government was given up. One of those tracts was the "Rise of Wisdom."

In the intercourse which arose out of these transactions, Mr. Grant stated to Mr. Fuller, "that with a prudent, still, and quiet mode of procedure, the missionaries were likely to hold their ground, and to obtain more liberty by degrees." To Mr. Fuller's enquiry, whether any more missionaries would be allowed to go out, Mr. Grant replied emphatically, none. "But what," asked Mr. Fuller, "would be the consequence of sending them out by way of America?" Mr. Grant replied that they would be sent back immediately, and that the good understanding which seemed to exist with the missionaries on the spot, would be seriously affected, for, he added, "*you have no longer a Danish Serampore to send them to.*" Mr. Fuller's correspondence with his Serampore friends, at this difficult period, is deserving of particular notice: "It may also be that you should go on without a toleration; that the hand of God in preserving the bush on fire from being consumed, may be more apparent. Twelve years ago, when thousands in London were intoxicated with the glory of the 'Duff' (a missionary vessel sent to the South Sea Islands by the London Missionary Society), one very good man said to me; 'You mean well, but you have no strength.' I answered nothing, but thought it a boast which would prove vain. Of late, some with you have said, 'The Baptists mean well, but they have no security.' True, and by our want of strength and security, if we properly feel our dependence on God, we may be more likely to pray and so succeed. . . . God has

Mr. Grant's
opinion on the
position of the
Mission.

fixed you and your companions in a post of eminence and difficulty, but hitherto He has helped you. It may be His will that we should have no legal security granted to us in India, that it may appear to be, not by might nor by power, but by His own spirit. You talk of our petitioning Parliament on the renewal of the charter for a toleration. I recently asked Lord Teignmouth what he thought of such a step. 'By no means,' said he, 'unless the member who may introduce the subject into Parliament, Mr. Wilberforce, should request it in aid of his efforts.' . . . I rejoice in all your literary undertakings, as they afford not only the means of spreading the word of truth, but a shelter to you. Had you been a company of illiterate men, humanly speaking, you must ere now have been crushed. God gave Daniel and his companions wisdom for a preservative." Notwithstanding the disheartening aspect of circumstances, Mr. Fuller was still bent on sending out additional labourers to Serampore. But as the settlement was now in the hands of the British authorities, this could no longer be done openly. He, therefore, inquired of Mr. Grant whether permission could be obtained to embark a young man, an artist, whom the missionaries were anxious to obtain, with a view to the engraving of the Chinese Scriptures. Mr. Grant said, that, as the missionaries appeared from the last accounts to be on a better footing with the Governor-General, they might petition him on the subject with greater confidence. Should the Government in India take a favourable view of the application, it would be referred to Leadenhall Street, and permission might thus be obtained. In allusion to this communication, Mr. Sutcliff, writing on behalf of Mr. Fuller, said that they had three young candidates for missionary labour, and that, if permission could be obtained for Mr. Lawson to go out as an artist, Mr. Williams might be represented as a classical scholar and a translator, and Mr. James as a schoolmaster. To such equivocal counsels were men of the highest

Mr. Fuller's
letter to Seram-
pore.

probity and honour obliged to resort, to evade the hostility of Government, and secure the admission of Christianity into India.

In the early portion of this year, a discussion, by no means agreeable, arose between the Missionaries at Serampore and the leading members of the London Missionary Society. That Society was formed Discussions with the London Missionary Society. two years after Mr. Fuller and Mr. Carey had set the example of missionary enterprise. It was intended to comprehend the efforts of those who were agreed on the subject of baptism, however widely they might differ on questions of Church polity. Perhaps it was owing to the broad basis of its construction, perhaps also to its more extensive influence and resources, that it assumed a tone of higher pretension towards the Baptist Missionary Society than either Mr. Fuller or Dr. Carey and his associates were disposed to submit to. The Society took the designation of The Missionary Society, and Mr. Fuller was accustomed, when alluding to it, to write the word THE in capital letters, and many facetious remarks did he make, in his letters to Serampore, on the pride which "lurked under the definite article." Though a feeling of undue assumption was too often apparent among some of its leading men, a most friendly correspondence was maintained between the two bodies, and Dr. Carey had advised Mr. Hardcastle, the treasurer, with whom he maintained a regular and most friendly correspondence, to establish the missionaries whom they were preparing to send to India, in the Telinga, now called the Teloo goo country. Mr. Cran and Mr. Desgranges were, therefore, sent out to their destination; and happening to reach Madras while Lord William Bentinck was still Governor of that Presidency, were allowed to proceed to the interior without hindrance. Dr. Carey, who had been engaged for some time in a translation of the New Testament into that language, recommended Mr. Desgranges to bend his attention to this work also, as

being indispensable to the success of his labours, and also useful in accelerating his own progress in the language. At the same time knowing the uncertainty of life, more especially in India, he did not think fit to relinquish his own translation at once. Mr. Desgranges accepted his advice, and, after having made some progress in the language, commenced the translation; but the Directors of the Missionary Society expressed their displeasure that Dr. Carey had not simultaneously relinquished the translation he had been engaged in, and remarked that a translation made by a Christian man, must be far preferable to one prepared by a wicked Brahmin.

The same sort of invidious remark was made in reference to the Chinese version. In the year 1807, more than a twelvemonth after Mr. Marshman had entered upon his Chinese studies, the London Missionary Society sent Mr., afterwards Dr. Morrison to China with an express view to the translation of the Scriptures into that language. To assist him in these labours he obtained from the British Museum, a copy of an excellent translation of the four Gospels, and of some of the Epistles, made by a Roman Catholic missionary. Mr. Morrison was a scholar of great promise, and, on his arrival in China, applied to the study of the language with assiduity, and prosecuted his literary and biblical labours with the greatest success. But the efforts made by Mr. Marshman, at the same time in another locality, to open the language of China to his own countrymen, and to enrich it with the Oracles of Divine Truth, excited a feeling of jealousy in the minds of some of the Directors of that Society. Mr. Burder, the secretary, in a letter written at this time to Dr. Carey, animadverted in severe terms on the continued prosecution of these labours after The Missionary Society had announced their intention to take charge of the version. He sneered at a translation made, as he observed, through the spectacles of an Armenian. To all these observations Dr. Carey replied

Mr. Marshman
censured for his
Chinese translation.

with his usual frankness and simplicity. As to the translation he was engaged in, being the work of a wicked Brahmin, he affirmed that he printed no translation till it had been revised and re-revised, that he never allowed a single word or mode of construction to pass without examination, that he had read every proof-sheet two or three times, and corrected it with his own hand, that he and Mr. Marshman then compared every verse with the Greek and Hebrew; and Mr. Ward finally read over every sheet with the pundit. He said that three of the translations, the Bengalee, the Sanscrit, and the Hindoostanee had been made with his own hand, and that he constantly availed himself of the help of the most learned natives, and should consider it criminal not to do so; but that he committed his judgment to none of them. He stated that the idea that a translation made by a learned Brahmin would be unintelligible to the body of the people, was founded in ignorance, and that the missionaries of the London Society would be under the necessity of following the same process of translation which he himself had adopted. He remarked that Mr. Marshman pursued the same course with regard to the Chinese, and never passed a single verse without the most careful and conscientious revision. He observed that he never expected the first attempt in any case to be perfect, and on this principle had advised the missionaries at Vizagapatam to put their version to press, so that each might avail himself of the labours and experience of the other; and that a really good version might be the result of their united exertions; adding, "I care nothing for the mere honour of being known as the translator of the Scriptures in the Telinga or any other language."

In the course of this year, Dr. Carey took for his second wife Miss Charlotte Rhumohr, who had visited Serampore for the benefit of her health, about the time when the Mission was first established; and had since continued to reside there, on a footing

Dr. Carey's
second marriage.

of the most friendly intercourse with the missionaries, in whose labours she took a lively interest. She was a member of the patrician family of Ahlfeldt, in the Duchy of Schleswick, and her sister was married to Count Wornstedt, Chamberlain to the King of Denmark. She was about the same age with Dr. Carey, diminutive in size, and somewhat deformed in figure; but whatever was wanting in symmetry of form, was amply compensated by the endowments of her mind. She had received that complete and finished education which is given in families of distinction on the Continent; and her subsequent confinement to the couch by protracted illness had given her ample opportunity for cultivating the literature of Europe. She conversed with equal fluency in French, German, Danish, and English, and was familiar with the classical authors in these languages, as well as with those of Italy. She was not less distinguished by feelings of deep piety, and an ardent desire for the spiritual improvement of the natives of India. She enjoyed the esteem and respect of all the members of the Mission family. She was eminently suited to be the companion of a man like Dr. Carey; and their union enabled him, after the laborious duties of the day, to enjoy that bracing relaxation in her animating conversation to which he had hitherto been a stranger. During her residence at Serampore, she had erected a house for her own residence on the banks of the river, which she made over to the Mission on her marriage, with the understanding that a sum, equivalent to the rent of it, should be perpetually appropriated to the support of native preachers; and the request, after the lapse of fifty years, continues to be sacredly fulfilled.

It has been stated in a previous chapter, that Col. Bie, the Governor of Serampore, when the missionaries sought refuge there in 1799, offered to make over to them the church he was about to erect, as an additional inducement to them to fix the seat of

The Settlement
Church at Seram-
pore.

their mission in the town. The church was completed just before the second capture of the town by the English. It was a neat edifice, but without any pretensions to architectural or even ecclesiastical symmetry. It was built after the model of Lutheran churches in Denmark, the upper end being appropriated to the purposes of an altar, of which, however, it never possessed more than the rudiments, and which was wanting, moreover, in the virtue of orientation. The spire was surmounted by a gilded cross, which was visible for many miles round, and gave an air of Christian civilisation to the scenery amidst its heathen associations. The church was erected partly by contributions raised in India, and partly by subscriptions from Denmark. The largest donor was Lord Wellesley, who had at the time completed the beautiful park across the river at Barrackpore, which forms the country residence of the Governors-General. It was popularly believed that his donation of 8000 rupees originated quite as much in his taste for the picturesque as in feelings of piety, and that he accompanied it with the remark that nothing was wanting to complete the view from his park but a spire in the foreground. About six months after the occupation of the town by the British authorities, a memorial was presented to the Government in Calcutta by the principal inhabitants, requesting that the missionaries might be permitted to hold divine service in the church. This request was immediately acceded to; but the dread of giving offence to the natives in the matter of their religion still lingered in the Council chamber, and in the official communication which was made on the occasion, the missionaries were desired to "confine themselves to the performance of divine service in the usual manner, and carefully to abstain from all discourses of a nature to offend the religious prejudices of the natives, any neglect of which condition would be immediately followed by a revocation of the privilege now granted." Dr. Carey opened the church in the month of July, 1808, and

preached a sermon from the text, "Arise, O Lord, to thy rest, thou and the ark of thy strength." In that church he and his colleagues and their successors, Mr. Mack and Mr. Denham, continued to preach the vital doctrines of the Gospel for forty-three years, without fee or reward. In 1845, the settlement of Serampore was transferred by sale to the English Government, together with the church, and the English Commissioners made over the keys to Mr. Denham, requesting him to continue his ministrations as usual. Six years after, Dr. Daniel Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, expressed a wish to obtain it for the performance of divine service according to the liturgy of the Church of England. It was accordingly transferred to him; and the pulpit, consecrated by so many sacred associations, was taken down to make room for another, and sold to a heathen carpenter.

The progress of conversion in the present year did not equal that of former years. "Conversions," says Mr.

Difficulties in the
management of
the Mission.

Ward, "among the heathen are very rare; things in Calcutta very encouraging. Health, harmony, and some degree of activity among us. If God be pleased to pour out his spirit among the heathen, we shall go on in triumph, but the absence of this makes everything unsatisfactory." But they were cheered by the success which attended their labours among the Armenians and Portuguese in Calcutta. Their private room in the Cossitollah was thronged with hearers, and the erection of the chapel in the Lall Bazar was pushed forward with redoubled vigour. The discouragements of the senior missionaries, however, arose not only from the comparative fewness of converts, but also from the difficulty of devising a plan for the organisation of the mission, which should harmonise conflicting dispositions, and promote its efficiency. Every effort was made to promote this spirit of co-operation, and many concessions were admitted, but with very little permanent effect. It was scarcely reasonable to expect that ten men,

with great diversities of temper, the greater number of whom were married, would be able to act together without discord, in an undertaking which rested on the basis of an unexampled and rigid self-denial, even though it was enforced by the example as well as the authority of those who had originated and presided over the establishment. The control necessarily exercised by the three senior missionaries was unpalatable to their missionary brethren, and the reflections and contentions to which it gave rise, were so sharp as to require a reference to the Committee in England. Respecting one of the discontented, Mr. Fuller wrote out, "When I read the correspondence with him, I was shocked; and if he had not repented, I should have voted for nothing short of his recall. Such turbulence of spirit, if persisted in, must be destructive to the cause." Of another, he wrote, "We have not recalled him, but have told him that if he chooses to come home, we would cheerfully bear the expense." To put an end to these contentions, which formed a more serious obstruction to progress, than even the hostility of Government, Dr. Carey and his two colleagues proposed that the management of the mission should be vested in a body chosen by a majority of the missionaries. Had this plan been carried into effect, the mission must soon have ceased to exist. Happily, Mr. Fuller peremptorily refused to ratify this democratic constitution, and to entrust the welfare of the mission to a body of electors whose inexperience and passions, but for the wisdom and firmness of the three senior brethren, would long since have broken up the establishment. Dr. Ryland wrote on the subject as already stated: "Who of us ever advanced the democratic nonsense of every apprentice we send you being equal the moment he set his foot on the soil of Bengal? You may have had such notions. We never infused them into your minds." Mr. Fuller, therefore, insisted on keeping the nomination of the managers in the hands of the Committee at home, and

very justly remarked, that they had no right to relinquish this authority; for if the Society had not the power of selecting those who were to be entrusted with the responsibilities of the mission, they could not be said to possess any power whatever.

This controlling authority was, therefore, delegated to Dr. Carey, Mr. Marshman, and Mr. Ward, for their lives, and they resolved henceforth to act with more decision in the government of the mission, as the representatives of the Society. But the severe restrictions which the economy established at Serampore imposed on individual freedom, and the great sacrifice of personal and social comfort which it involved, continued to be a fertile source of discontent to those who did not participate in the feelings of devotement in which that economy originated. The junior missionaries were offended at the stringency of the sumptuary rules; they revolted against the authority exercised by the seniors, and filled the ears of the committee with complaints; Dr. Carey and his colleagues had fallen into the error of creating a system which demanded Moravian self-denial, without conceding Moravian equality. They did not perceive that the individual enthusiasm, which could alone sustain such self-denial, was destroyed by the principle of obedience to superior authority. Mr. Fuller sent them the most affectionate and faithful admonitions, advising them to watch over themselves as well as others, and to be among their younger brethren more as fathers than as masters. Dr. Ryland, writing to Mr. Marshman, inquired whether it was quite needless to hint to him, that, however commendable his own frugality and self-denial might be, it was not to be expected that every young missionary would equal him and Mrs. Marshman in these gifts. There can be little doubt that these admonitions were judicious and salutary, for the energy of great minds, in the intense pursuit of a great and absorbing object, has a natural tendency to absolutism. But before the letters of Mr.

Remarks on these difficulties.

Fuller and Dr. Ryland reached Serampore, the senior missionaries had been overpowered by opposition, and driven to adopt a new constitution for the mission.

This constitution, however, did not last long, and is interesting chiefly from the exhibition it affords of that spirit of unexampled frugality, and that subordination of individual feelings to the promotion New constitution of the Mission. of an important enterprise, which were at the time deemed indispensable to its success. The document began by stating, that, in a letter recently received from the Committee, they were requested to act as managers of the mission for life, and that the choice of their successors would be regulated by the Society. The time, they said, has now arrived for their missionary brethren to serve the cause in separate stations, and, in reality, to form distinct missions. The number of missionaries embraced in this new plan was seven, and it was proposed to fix the allowance at seventy rupees a month for each missionary and his wife, ten rupees a month being added for the first, and seven rupees for each succeeding child. The expense of the seven missionaries would thus—at the exchange of the day—amount to 1000*l.* annually. Out of this salary, the missionary was at liberty to reserve a small sum, not exceeding ten rupees a month, as a personal allowance, and to furnish a detailed account of the expenditure of the rest, to be transmitted to the Society. Any surplus which might remain out of this very scanty provision was not to be considered in the light of individual property, because this would be repugnant to the leading principle of the mission, and, by encouraging a sordid concern for petty savings, eat out every missionary feeling. Every sum obtained by the labour of any of the missionaries, or from presents, was to be inserted in the monthly accounts as mission property. The children of the missionaries were to be educated, free of all expense to the parents, at Serampore, where an asylum and a suitable allowance were also to be provided for the widow and the

orphan. Such was the foundation on which Dr. Carey and his two colleagues desired to build up the missionary edifice; and it was on these principles they hoped to see the establishment of a hundred stations, whenever the country should be open to them. It was a noble and disinterested project; but it supposed the existence of a lofty devotion not to be expected in the ordinary course of human affairs, and it demanded a sacrifice of domestic convenience to which few could be induced to submit. A few years after, when the mission was remodelled on the death of Mr. Fuller, it ceased to exist, except as a memorial of virtuous and consecrated energy.

From the letters sent to the Society by Dr. Carey and his two colleagues, about this time, a few brief extracts may be useful to exhibit their views and feelings.

Extracts from
the letters of the
Missionaries.

“ We have, according to your repeated directions, assumed the management of the mission, regulated the salary at each station till we hear further from you, declared that each station is free from the control of another, and that it belongs to you to appoint those who shall now direct, or succeed to the direction. We beg that you will write expressly on these subjects and particularly fix the salaries, pointing out what each single brother, or man and wife or child shall receive. . . .

If the translations be one of the greatest objects of our work, then to provide brethren to engage in them is a duty of as much magnitude, as it is to give the Sacred Scriptures to those who are perishing for want of them. Do not, dear brethren, consider this as a matter of small consequence. Exclusive of the translations, the affairs of this family and of the mission at large can never be managed by less than three, nor will a less number do for the translations. These brethren must first know Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and then the genius of Eastern languages, and the particular language into which they are to translate. If they be qualified in the classics, three or four years' study in this country will be necessary to qualify them for any real

labour. If you consent to let the translations die with the present labourers, still the whole mission wants to be managed. If it fall into one family all will be ruined; if into two, who shall become the day's man. If three persons be found, yet if they are discordant, all will come to nothing. The difficulty of management here is that our union is of that nature that it cannot exist, unless all selfish and turbulent passions are subdued. . . . We have reason to be abundantly thankful that our lives and our health have been so mercifully preserved. Yet we exceedingly long to hear of some tried, thoroughly tried and qualified brother, or brethren, coming out to prepare to succeed us. Dear brethren, after the mission has weathered so many storms, within and without, shall it be given up a prey to passion, rashness, and inexperience, and all our families left at the mercy of those whose passions have again and again shaken it to its foundation? . . . The work here has been carried to such a state, and is capable of producing such great consequences in a few years, that the whole Christian world will rise up against you, notwithstanding all you have done, and us also, if we suffer it to come to nothing. Of what use will this large establishment of presses, types in so many languages, and translations half done, be in a few years, if everything is to fall with those who are now employed in it? And not only will the translations come to nothing, unless supported by brethren of talent and tried principles, but disorganisation at Serampore will shake to its very foundation every establishment you have in India. . . . In thus writing, dear brethren, we wish not to exalt ourselves. If we may escape condemnation for our missionary sins, we shall be infinite debtors to divine grace, but we wish to save the mission, from a speedy wreck after we are laid in the dust."

In the autumn of the present year, Mr. Fuller, who had been in the habit of making a triennial visit to Scotland to foster the spirit of missionary zeal, and to collect funds

for the mission, made a vigorous effort to raise subscriptions for the Serampore translations. Soon after Mr.

Mr. Fuller's collections for the translations. Buchanan had directed the treasurers of the Translation Fund in Calcutta to make no further

payments from it to the Serampore missionaries except on the joint signature of Mr. Brown and Mr. Udny, Mr. Marshman drew up a memoir or report of the progress which had been made in the work, and transmitted it to Mr. Fuller, who sent it immediately to press before he proceeded on his northern tour. Dr. Stuart, of Dunearn, one of the most cordial friends of the missionary cause, and a great admirer of the Serampore missionaries, reprinted the memoir in Edinburgh, and distributed the impression through Scotland, in order to pave the way for Mr. Fuller's appeal. It produced a very unexpected and extraordinary effect in that country. In the narrative of his journey which he sent to Serampore, Mr. Fuller said, "Money poured in like rain in a thunderstorm. Those who had been disputing for years about discipline, weekly communion, and other kindred matters, seemed half-ashamed of their differences. One of them said to me, what little things are we employed about, compared with this? Tell your friends, said Dr. Stuart, to go on, and we will furnish them with money. Thousands flocked to hear me, and hundreds went away too, from large places, because they could find no room." After travelling twelve hundred miles, and preaching forty-two sermons in about six weeks, Mr. Fuller reached Kettering in November, with a clear return of 2000*l*.

On the 1st of January, 1809, the desire which Dr. Carey and his colleagues had so long entertained of possessing a place of worship in Calcutta, for English and native congregations, was accomplished. The chapel in the Bow Bazar, which was opened by Dr. Carey on that day, was a spacious, lofty and elegant edifice, with a chaste gallery on three sides, and a noble portico at the front entrance, and did no little credit to

Opening of
the Bow Bazar
Chapel.

the taste of Mr. Rolt, the architect. It was the third Protestant, and the first Dissenting place of worship in Calcutta. The entire cost amounted to about 3200*l.*, of which 700*l.* had been raised by subscriptions, on the first issue of the proposals, and laid out in the purchase and the clearing of the ground, and 1000*l.* from Mr. Marshman's personal solicitations in Calcutta. This sum was soon exhausted, but the missionaries were determined not to allow the progress of the work to be suspended for want of funds, and they advanced the sums which were requisite from time to time, from their own resources. (On the completion of the chapel, the debt which had thus been incurred was found to amount to about 1500*l.*, for which the trustees, ten in number, were legally answerable, but they shrunk from the responsibility of this obligation. Unable to raise the necessary funds by a second appeal to the public, they hypothecated the chapel to the missionaries by a deed of mortgage, which however was never redeemed. In after years, when all the proceedings of the Serampore Missionaries were ransacked to discover cause of crimination, and every act was ascribed to the most objectionable motives, this transaction was selected as an object of particular censure. But it admits of the most satisfactory explanation: by a clause in the original deed, the chapel was to be open to the use of all, but it was subsequently erected by the exertions of men of only one denomination, and to them it was mortgaged by the body of trustees. The missionaries were not disposed to take advantage of this circumstance and appropriate it to their own exclusive use, and invited Mr. Forsyth, the only missionary in Bengal unconnected with their own body, to select his own hours for preaching to his little flock, and he continued thus to labour till he voluntarily relinquished the service. For seven years after the completion of the chapel, there was no other missionary body in Calcutta to avail itself of the comprehensive clause in the original deed. In 1816, the

London Missionary Society established a mission in that city, but their missionaries found, on their arrival, that the chapel had long been used by a large church and congregation, whose stated services occupied the hours devoted by common usage to public worship on the Sabbath, and they considered it more advisable to erect a chapel of their own, than to interfere with the devotions of another and a long-established body. But although the hypothecation of the building in 1809 to the Serampore Missionaries was pronounced by their detractors to be utterly indefensible, yet, on the dissolution of that mission, thirty years after, it was taken over on the same footing by the Baptist Missionary Society, and their missionaries continue to occupy its pulpit on the strength of that calumniated mortgage. Three months after the chapel had been opened, the English congregation increased to two hundred. It was composed chiefly of the middling and lower classes of Christians in Calcutta, and consisted, in fact, of the same description of attendants, who had filled the mission Church in the days of Kiernandier, and deserted it when, under the ministry of Mr. Brown, it became the sanctuary of the gentry.

The mission to Bootan had been suspended by the failure of two successive efforts to penetrate the country,

but the Serampore Missionaries were little disposed to relinquish it. In January of this

Renewed Missionary attempt in Bootan.

year, Mr. Robinson left Serampore a third time for that country. He was accompanied by a young man of the name of Cornish, who had recently arrived from England, and joined the church in Calcutta, and manifested a strong desire for missionary labour. On reaching Goamalty, Mr. Robinson's courage failed him, and he informed his brethren at Serampore that he felt it his duty to abandon an enterprise associated with so many difficulties and trials, and which presented so slender a prospect of success. Mr. Robinson was one of the ablest men whom the Society had sent out to India since 1799.

He possessed great missionary zeal and was equal to much personal exertion, but he lacked that spring of energy which distinguished the three men at Serampore, and which derived fresh animation from every fresh difficulty. When separated from their advice and encouragement, and left to the resources of his own mind, he gave way to despondency. But Dr. Carey immediately wrote in reply to urge him to persevere in the undertaking, and endeavoured to infuse some portion of his own enthusiasm into his mind. Mr. Robinson determined, therefore, to continue the journey. On arriving at Botchaut, the frontier station, he met Dr. Francis Buchanan, who was returning to Calcutta from a botanical tour through those wild regions. The interview was not lost on Mr. Robinson. He did not fail to contrast the resolution which could brave so many difficulties in the cause of science, with his own faint-heartedness in the cause of religion, and these reflections gave a fresh impulse to his mind. Learning from Dr. Buchanan that the country was in a very disturbed state, he resolved to establish himself on the frontier, and apply to the study of the language, watching a favourable opportunity for entering the country itself. The day after his arrival at Botchaut, he was visited by the Katmah, or chief Bootan officer of the district, with whom a friendly intercourse was established. He invited Mr. Robinson to his residence and promised to send his musicians and dancing girls to escort him; but Mr. Robinson escaped the compliment by anticipating the hour of departure. At the meeting, the Katmah evinced a cordial desire to meet his wishes, and presented him with two dirty handkerchiefs of the manufacture of the country, receiving in return a spy-glass and a watch. Of the value of the latter, he was as ignorant as any barbarian, but was delighted to hear it tick when applied to his ear, and regarded it as a charm. The next day he entered into a formal friendship with Mr. Robinson, and the engagement was ratified in the presence of

the idol, to whom some oranges and walnuts were offered. The Katmah then called for his tea-pot, and poured out a cup for each, but before he partook of it himself, he turned to the image, apparently offering a short address. Fresh presents were now brought forward, and the engagement of mutual amity was publicly announced. A favourable access was thus obtained to the country, and Mr. Robinson immediately began to build his house; but before it was completed, he was attacked with the deadly fever of the Terace, or belt of jungle, which skirts the foot of the hills, and was obliged to return in the first instance to Dinagapore, and then to Serampore. There his health was fully restored, and he returned to his station to resume his labours.

Dr. Carey had enjoyed the blessing of vigorous and unbroken health for ten years, at Serampore. This was to be attributed, under the blessing of God, to his regular and temperate habits, and not less to the animating character of his occupations, which, as he was in the habit of observing, left him no leisure for being ill. He rose early, and immediately proceeded to his garden, where he generally passed an hour or two in walking about among his plants, of which he had made the largest and richest collection in any private establishment in India. His garden was also the scene of his devotional meditations; and the day, thus opened amidst the most agreeable and tranquillising scenes, was filled up with unremitted labour in the mission and the translations. In the month of July in this year, he completed the publication of the Bengalee Bible, and the next day was attacked with fever, which brought him rapidly to the brink of the grave. For several days he was in a state of delirium, and talked incoherently. He was attended with the kindest assiduity by Dr. Darling, the surgeon attached to one of the regiments at Barrackpore, who entered the sick chamber, on his first visit, in his military uniform. Dr. Carey had always been a warm

Serious illness
of Dr. Carey.

advocate of peace, and the practice of war was repugnant to his feelings. During the delirium, his mind wandered on the subject which had engaged his thoughts in health, and he no sooner perceived the scarlet coat of his medical attendant, than he sprang from his couch in a state of frenzy, and asked how he dared to appear in such a dress, after the Almighty had decreed the abolition of all war. Dr. Darling was obliged to retreat, and exchange his uniform for one of Mr. Marshman's black coats, when he was allowed to feel the pulse of his patient, and prescribe for him. The fever was gradually subdued, but it left him in a state of great debility for many weeks. During the suspension of his labours in the College of Fort William, his place was supplied by Mr. Marshman, who delivered lectures to the students in the Bengalee and Sanscrit languages. Dr. Carey was at length restored to health and strength, and enabled to resume his duties, and his missionary zeal seemed to have acquired additional vigour from this temporary interruption of labour. In the first letter he wrote to Mr. Fuller after his recovery, on the 17th of August, after alluding to the circumstance of his having reached his forty-eighth year on that day, he said: "The state of the world occupies my thoughts more and more, as it respects the spread of the Gospel. A mission to Siam would be comparatively easy of introduction and support, on account of its vicinity to Prince of Wales' Island, from which vessels can often go in a few hours. A mission to Pegu, and another to Aracan, would not be difficult of introduction, as they are both within the Burmese dominions. Missions to Assam and Nepal should be speedily tried. I do not know anything of the facilities with which missions could be introduced into Cochin China, Cambodia, and Laos, but were the trial made, I believe difficulties would vanish. It is also very desirable that the Burmese Mission should be strengthened; there is full liberty of conscience there, and several stations ought to be occupied.

Even the borders of China could be reached from that country, if an entrance could not be obtained to the heart of it. I have not mentioned Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas, or the Philippines, but all these countries must be occupied with missionaries." In enumerating the places to which missions could be sent, he significantly omitted all notice of the British dominions in India, which were then, to all appearance, hermetically sealed against the enterprise.

It has been stated that the mission to Burmah was commenced at the beginning of 1808. The town of Mission to Rangoon. Rangoon, which had gradually become the emporium of commerce in the valley of the Irawaddy, was selected as the most convenient position for the first missionary station; and Mr. Chater, and subsequently Mr. Felix Carey, had erected a house there, and entered on their work with much animation. Mr. Chater was a very fair linguist and very conciliatory in his manners. Mr. Felix Carey possessed much of his father's aptitude for the acquisition of languages, and looked forward with delight to the cultivation of the Burmese language and literature and the translation of the Scriptures. It was a new and untrodden field of labour, well suited to his enterprising spirit. He was master of the Sanscrit language, and familiar with the principles of Oriental philology. He had also applied with success to the study of medicine, and walked the hospitals of Calcutta for several years. He was twenty-two years of age when he entered on the undertaking, for which he had been well trained in the school of Serampore. He had not been long at Rangoon before he found ample scope for his medical skill, and was thus enabled to obtain favourable access to the heathen. He was the first to introduce the blessing of vaccination into the country, and was so happy as to obtain permission, at the outset of his career, to operate on the child of the governor. He soon discovered, to his delight, that the learned lan-

guage of the country, the Pali, the parent of the vernacular tongue, was a variety of the Sanscrit, adapted to the monosyllabic language of Burmah. His literary progress was thus facilitated, and he was enabled, with the aid of a pundit, to compile a grammar of the Burmese language, and to make a rough beginning with the translation of the Scriptures. The communication of these facts confirmed Dr. Carey's hopes regarding the object dearest to his affections, the extended translation of the Bible into the languages of the East. In reference to the resemblance of the Pali with the Sanscrit, he remarks, "This circumstance will, I suspect, be of incalculable advantage to the translation of the Scriptures into all the languages spoken to the east of Bengal, the Chinese excepted, for, if I am not mistaken, the Pali is the learned language of Ava, Aracan, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, and of several other countries where the religion of Buddha prevails. The Sanscrit version of the Scriptures will generally be understood by the learned men whom it will be necessary to obtain as assistants in the work."

It was during this year that the missionaries at Serampore began to carry out the design of employing in the missionary field young men in European habits, born and educated in the country, who were found to possess ability and zeal. From the commencement of their labours at Serampore they had constantly kept in view the necessity of domesticating Christianity in India, and providing for the propagation of it without exclusive dependence on aid from Europe. They determined to cultivate the resources presented in the country itself, and to bring into active exercise whatever talent they could discover among their native converts, and in the European community. As Mr. Ward happily expressed it, in one of his letters, "For the army of labourers to be employed in assaulting the bulwarks of Hindooism, we ought to look to England only for a few superior officers. The non-commissioned officers and rank and file we must

Employment of
Missionaries
raised up in the
country.

raise in the country." This plan was enforced on them by the peculiar circumstances of the times. They had recently been informed by Mr. Fuller, on the authority of Mr. Charles Grant, that Lord Minto and his Council had advised the Court of Directors to prevent any accession to the number of missionaries in India; and that any attempt on the part of the Society to send out missionaries by way of America would be resisted and resented. There was little hope of any relaxation of this hostility before the renewal of the charter in 1813, and it ill accorded with the ardour of their minds to wait for additional labourers till that period, with the chance of disappointment when it came. They determined, therefore, at once to employ those who might turn up in the country itself. These men might not possess the energy of the European character; but this defect was, in some measure, compensated by their thorough knowledge of the habits and feelings of the people, and their familiarity with the vernacular tongue. More particularly, these indigenous missionaries were not liable to be deported from the country for want of a license, and they could travel about without a passport. During the preceding two or three years the labours of the missionaries in Calcutta had drawn around them a small body of men, of East Indian, Portuguese, and Armenian extraction, who manifested much zeal after their conversion, and were encouraged to labour from house to house wherever they could obtain access. A meeting was held every evening in the week at the residence of some of those who had shown a desire to listen to the Gospel, and the younger members of the church were thus trained to the exercise of their natural gifts. Two men of this class were this year selected for missionary work, Mr. Carapiet Aratoon and Mr. John Peter. The former was an Armenian by birth, thoroughly acquainted with the Bengalee and Hindoostanee, and well versed in Scripture doctrine. He possessed great gentleness of disposition, a winning manner, and not a little of that

Missionaries furnished by the church in Calcutta.

quiet and persevering spirit of enterprise which had raised so many of his countrymen to posts of political importance at the native Courts, before all power in India was absorbed by the English. Mr. John Peter was also an Armenian, but of native extraction, of a jet-black complexion, ardent and zealous, and with an unrivalled command of the native tongue, which he spoke with a degree of eloquence which riveted the attention of his hearers. They both owed their religious convictions to the ministrations in Bengalee in the little chapel at Chitpore, which Government had recently closed. Mr. Aratoon was placed in Jessore, from whence a considerable number of native converts had been received, and where the native Christians required more mature and vigorous superintendence than could be expected from the ablest native teachers. In the beginning of the present year the New Testament in the Orissa language was completed at press, and Dr. Carey and his colleagues were anxious to circulate it in the country in which the language was current. To send a missionary to the head-quarters of Juggernath at Pooree might, it was to be feared, revive the smothered embers of opposition in the Council-chamber, and it was resolved to plant Mr. Peter on the border of the district at Balasore. He and Mr. Aratoon were ordained missionaries to the heathen in October of the present year, and sent immediately after to their stations, Mr. Aratoon on forty rupees a month, and Mr. Peter, in consideration of his having an aged father and invalid brother, as well as a wife and three children, to support, on seventy rupees.

While the missionaries at Serampore were thus employed in preparing the Sacred Scriptures for the natives of Orissa, the Government of India was engaged in completing the connection of the State with its great idolatrous shrine. The alliance thus formed between a Christian Government and that heathen establishment affords the most pregnant illustration of those "brahminised feelings" which, during the first

Connection of
the Government
of India with
Juggernath.

fifty years of our Indian empire, pervaded and debased the minds of the British functionaries in India. After the establishment of our power in Orissa, the Government was anxious to strengthen itself by the popularity which might be expected from the official patronage of the great Diana of India, and to enrich its treasury by a tax on pilgrims. In a former chapter, the progress of this design, and the resistance it encountered in the Court of Directors, have been already narrated. The question was again brought before them in 1808, when they determined to send another exposition of their views on this subject to Bengal. In the despatch drafted under their direction they unequivocally condemned this alliance, and prohibited the Government to nominate the priests, or to undertake the management of the funds, or to exercise any kind of control over the ministrations at the temple. They directed that the interference of the public officers should be confined to objects within the province of the magistrate, such as the control of the police, and the preservation of the public peace; and that whatever assessments might be levied, should be strictly limited to the sum necessary for these objects. They directed that the Hindoos should not be subjected to any tax for access to their place of devotion, or under the notion of granting them a religious privilege; and that there should be no toleration of idolatry for any money consideration. These sentiments derive additional value from the fact that they were enunciated at a time when the anti-missionary feelings of the Directors were in full vigour. If it had been permitted to them to carry out these views, the Government of India would have been spared the obloquy of this unhallowed connection, instead of being constrained for nearly half a century to maintain a struggle with public indignation at home. They would not have been placed in a false and damaging position, with all the noblest sympathies of our nature, and the strength of Christian principle arrayed against them.

But the wishes of the Court of Directors were overruled by the Board of Control, who determined to confirm the arrangements which had been made by the Supreme Council in Calcutta. The despatch of the Court was superseded by another drawn up in the Board's Office, which laid down the doctrine that as the pilgrim tax had been established during the administration of the Mahomedans and the Mahrattas, there did not appear any valid objection to its continuance under the British Government. This despatch, so diametrically opposed to the sentiments of the Court of Directors, they were obliged to sign and transmit to Calcutta, as their own act and deed. But before this despatch could reach India, the Supreme Council had passed the regulation of 1809, which modified in some degree the interference which had been previously exercised in the affairs of the temple, and substituted the authority of the Raja of Khoorda for that of the Bengal Government. But that regulation left too many of the links of the connection which it professed to sever. Guards were provided to protect the interests of the temple ; its high priests were appointed by the officers of our Government, and were not removable without the sanction of the Supreme Council, and the broad cloth required for the decoration of the cars was supplied from the stores of Government. An account of all offerings and gifts was rendered to the collector, who was still mixed up with the regulation of the affairs of the temple, and the conduct of its ceremonies. The tax was collected by British officers, and the pilgrim-hunters received head-money in proportion to the number of votaries they could allure to the shrine, and they travelled through the length and breadth of the land, proclaiming that they were acting under the authority of the British Government, whose servants they were, and who shared in the gains of the temple. There is, perhaps, no single measure which has entailed more intense odium on the East India Company throughout Christen-

dom than this alliance of a Christian Government with an idolatrous shrine from unhallowed and mercenary motives. But it is little known that the proposal, when first made, was indignantly rejected by Lord Wellesley; that on his retirement from India, the connection was established by Sir George Barlow, the great champion of traditionary policy, who stated that he considered Juggernath in the light of a "religious corporation" entitled to the patronage of Government, like all the other religious establishments it was then fostering; that this alliance was repudiated and resisted by the Court of Directors, and supported and enforced by the Board of Control.

It has been already stated that, when the Serampore Missionaries felt themselves constrained to withdraw from the corresponding committee of the Bible Society in Calcutta, in consequence of Mr. Buchanan's proceedings, Mr. Brown nominated four of the chaplains, together with Mr. Forsyth, of the London Missionary Society, and Mr. Harington, to act with himself and Mr. Udny. But this arrangement did not meet with the concurrence of the parent society in London. They repudiated Mr. Buchanan's plan of the Christian Institution, for which he had asked of the Society 10,000*l.* a year for four years, "with which to evangelise all India," and they regretted the interruption which his plans had occasioned. Lord Teignmouth, the president, consulted Mr. Fuller on the subject, who stated that his friends in India would prefer to receive any aid which the Bible Society might be so generous as to give, immediately from the committee in London; but the leading members of the Bible Society deemed it more advisable if possible, to revive their original resolution, and place Churchmen and Dissenters in equal proportions on the committee in Calcutta. With this view it was resolved that the corresponding committee should consist of the original members, Mr. Brown, Mr. Udny, the three Serampore missionaries, and Mr. Thomason, in lieu of Mr

Remodelling of
the correspond-
ing committee of
the Bible Society.

Buchanan, and that all drafts on the Society should bear the signature of four of their number. Mr. Fuller, who had been requested to attend the meeting of the committee, was asked whether he thought such a plan any longer feasible, and he replied that the missionaries felt keenly the treatment they had experienced, but that, for his part, he would use every effort to induce them to accede to the proposal. Lord Teignmouth also said that he would request his friend, Mr. Udny, to act as a mediator between Mr. Brown and the missionaries. Mr. Fuller assured the committee that he was persuaded they would sacrifice everything for peace and honourable co-operation, short of truth and a good conscience. When these communications reached Serampore, Dr. Carey and his colleagues determined to bury the past in oblivion, and meet the wishes of the society by a cordial co-operation with the other members of the committee.

At the close of 1809, the Serampore missionaries sent the Society a report of the progress of the translations, and it presents an example of that ardent spirit of exertion in which great undertakings are achieved. They state that after sixteen years of exertion — dating from the time when Dr. Carey began his labours at Mudnabatty — the whole Bible had been printed off in the Bengalee language in five volumes, as well as a third and improved edition of the New Testament. They had completed the printing of the New Testament and the Psalms in Ooriya. The Sanscrit Testament had been finished at press, and the Pentateuch began. They had also prepared the first rough translation of the New Testament in the Telinga and the Punjabee. The printing of the Goozeratee and Mahratta revisions had been suspended for want of funds. From an early period they had been employed in a revision of the Scriptures for the inhabitants of Hindoostan proper, and had printed an edition of single Gospels. This revision was in the language then designated the Hindoostanee, affiliated

Report of the
progress of the
translations.

in its structure and vocables with the Sanscrit; it was intended for the Hindoo population, and was printed in the Deva Nagree character. The Hindec of that period, now called the Oordoo, which is a popular modification of the Persian, used by the Mahomedan conquerors of India and their descendants, and written in the Persian character, had been transferred to Mr. Martyn; and the Serampore Missionaries therefore intermitted their labours for the provinces of the north-west. But Mr. Martyn soon found that the language of seven-eighths of the people — the remaining eighth being Mahomedans — was identical with that which his friends at Serampore had been cultivating, and he encouraged them to resume their labours, by the assurance that they “would be useful to thousands.” The report further stated that Mr. Chater and Mr. Felix Carey were preparing themselves for the translation of the Scriptures into the Burmese language, and Mr. Robinson into that of Bootan. In reference to Mr. Marshman’s labours, it was stated that he had retained a learned Chinese to assist in revising the translation, which was written out in the first instance by Mr. Lassar, and then compared by him with the original. A fair copy was then made by the Chinese Moonshee, who revised it carefully, with a view to the correction of idiomatic inaccuracies; after which he and Mr. Marshman went over it again very laboriously, to secure the greatest degree of accuracy. After these successive revisions a fair copy was made for the engravers. The progress which had been made in the preparation of founts of types in the Oriental languages was also very satisfactory. In the middle of 1807, the missionaries had completed four founts, which, with the Persian fount received from England, enabled them to print the Scriptures in seven languages. On the ground of economy alone, the importance of the foundry they had established at Serampore will be apparent from a reference to the expense of Oriental founts in London; and at this distance of time it may not

be without interest. The Persian fount, which Mr. Fuller had sent out, cost 500*l*. The missionaries had also desired him to ascertain whether Telinga and Nagree founts might not be obtained more cheaply and expeditiously in London, where Fry and Figgins, the eminent founders, had been employed in preparing Oriental punches for the East India Company. Their reply satisfied the missionaries of the wisdom of having made the establishment of a foundry and the training of native artists one of the first objects of their attention at Serampore. Mr. Figgins offered to supply them with 407 matrices for the Telinga, he retaining the punches, for 641*l*. Regarding the Nagree, a consultation was held with Dr. Charles Wilkins, the great Orientalist, who had cut the first Indian types with his own hands thirty years before, and it was found that the punches required for printing in that character might, by various contrivances, be reduced to 300; but the expense of preparing even this contracted fount was estimated at 700*l*. At Serampore the missionaries had been able to obtain from their native workmen a complete fount of Nagree, consisting of 700 characters, for about 163*l*. In the course of the first ten years of their labours the difference between the expense of their own foundry, and the sum which would have been required for the preparation of the founts in London, fell little short of 2000*l*.

Ten years had now elapsed since the establishment of the mission at Serampore, and a general review of the progress which had been made during this period was drawn up by Mr. Ward, at the request of his brethren, in December of the present year. Amidst all the opposition of Government they had succeeded in settling four stations in Bengal; they had sent a missionary to Patna, and planted stations on the borders of Orissa and Bootan, and in Burmah; the number of members in church fellowship exceeded two hundred; they had obtained a footing in Calcutta, where a chapel had been

Ten years' report
of the mission.

erected at a cost of more than 3000*l.*, and a large church and congregation collected; the Scriptures had been printed, in whole or in part, in six languages, and translations had been commenced in six others. "And now, dear brethren," concludes the Report, "has not God completely refuted the notion that all attempts to disseminate the Gospel among the heathen are vain? This happy degree of success, which surprises us who are on the spot, has been granted within the space of about nine years; for it is no more since the baptism of the first Hindoo." So great had been their exertions as almost to cast into the shade the agency of the Society in England. But they felt that they could not sufficiently appreciate the value of Mr. Fuller's co-operation. He was the life and soul, the grace and ornament of the mission in England; it was his indefatigable zeal which kept alive the interest of the public in the cause; it was his powerful intellect and undaunted spirit which baffled all opposition, and his judicious and affectionate counsels which diffused animation through the whole system; and the reciprocal confidence which he and the missionaries reposed in each other was almost unlimited. Hence, in concluding the Report, Mr. Ward remarks, "I hope the Report I have drawn up will afford you and the other brethren who have borne the heat and burden of the day a degree of real comfort. God has done great things, not only by us, but through you. We can never separate ourselves from you for a moment in thinking what God has done for the Baptist mission in India."

The labours of Dr. Carey and his colleagues in Calcutta had brought under their notice the state of ignorance and vice in which hundreds of Christian children were growing up. They were the remote descendants of European fathers and native mothers, and in each successive generation had degenerated still deeper into native associations. They were chiefly of Portuguese extraction, but though Roman Catholics by birth, were heathen in all but the name

They were equally ignorant of Portuguese and Latin, and derived no beneficial influence from the services of their church. They were in the lowest stage of social depression and poverty, having often a family, five or six in number, to support on three shillings a week. Neither was there any of that stimulus of honourable ambition to be found among them, which led their Hindoo and Mahomedan neighbours to exertion and fortune. They reflected nothing but disgrace on the Christian name, and were regarded by the heathen around them with supreme contempt. The only institution which existed in Calcutta for the benefit of this class was the Free School. In the year 1729, the Company's servants and the adventurers in Calcutta set on foot a charity school, to "educate poor European children in the Protestant religion." They raised about 2400*l.*, which was paid into the Treasury, and for which Government paid interest. The Court of Directors pronounced it "a laudable undertaking, and wished the projectors good success." At the same time, Mr. Bouchier, the Master-Attendant, a man of great benevolence, erected a court-house for the mayor's court, which had been established the previous year in Calcutta by royal charter, and made it over to Government on condition that the rent, 400*l.* a year, should be paid to the new charitable institution. On the sack of Calcutta in 1756, the school was broken up, but the bonds of the original subscription were renewed on the restoration of British authority, and the school opened again. The court-house was soon after enlarged at the expense of the inhabitants, and the Government agreed to double the rent. But the European community was now inordinately absorbed in the pursuit of gain, which swallowed up every other feeling, and the educational as well as the religious wants of the town were never thought of. As no one took the slightest interest in the school, it degenerated into a job, and with an income of 1200*l.* a year afforded education only to twenty scholars. It was not till thirty years after the battle of

Plassey that any attempt was made to correct this neglect. Under the auspices of Lord Cornwallis, a successful effort was made in 1787 to organise an efficient institution for the benefit of the humbler class of Christians. The old charity school was remodelled, under the denomination of the Free School, and the income was raised to 4000*l.* a year. After having been twenty years in full operation, it was still found to be inadequate to the wants of the town. The Free School gave instruction only to those whom it was able to board. Beyond its walls, therefore, there was a large body of destitute children growing up in every vice, and it was for their benefit that the Serampore missionaries now undertook to provide the means of instruction. Mr. Marshman took the lead in this undertaking, and the "Benevolent Institution," as the school was designated, owes its rise and prosperity chiefly to his exertions. He preached a sermon on Christmas-day at the Bow Bazar Chapel, in which he advocated the claims of these neglected children, who infested the streets and lanes of Calcutta, after which a collection was made of the amount of 30*l.*, a small sum compared with the magnitude of the undertaking. But the missionaries immediately engaged a house in the heart of the town, in the centre of the Portuguese population, and opened the school under the superintendence of Mr. Peacock. He was the son of a clergyman in England, and had been trained to the work of tuition in the military orphan establishment at Kidderpore, but was obliged to leave it on joining the Baptist community. The first notice of the institution which was published, stated that it was designed in the first instance, to impart a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic to the pupils, and that the circle of instruction would be enlarged with its growth. One of its chief objects was to instil the principles of Christian truth and morals into the minds of the children, and bring them under the humanising influences of the Gospel. It was not intended to enforce any particular creed on them, but the Scriptures were to be daily read and expounded. Neither

were they to be required to attend Protestant worship on the Sunday, and the Roman Catholic children had full liberty to accompany their friends to their own chapels.

The number of scholars in the first month amounted to between thirty and forty. Encouraged by this appearance of success, Mr. Marshman drew up a prospectus of the institution, and consulted Dr. Leyden on the propriety of sending it into circulation.

Progress and difficulties of the Institution.

He entered very warmly into the plan, and assured Mr. Marshman that it would receive every encouragement from Lord Minto, and thus obtain a passport to public patronage. Lord Minto was at the time absent from Calcutta. He had been obliged to proceed in person to Madras to quell the mutiny — far more formidable than that of Vellore — which had broken out among the European officers of the Company's army, in consequence of the mismanagement of Sir George Barlow, for which he was deposed from his government. Mr. Marshman was induced by this advice to postpone the issue of the prospectus, but it was privately handed about among the friends of religion, from whom a liberal subscription was obtained. But the great difficulty which the missionaries experienced was in the organisation of a committee of management, which should carry weight with the public, and yet leave them unfettered in the prosecution of those Evangelical views with which the school had been established. This embarrassment is thus explained to Mr. Fuller in a letter from Mr. Marshman: "No one in our congregation was high enough in station. The Civil servants are the nobility and gentry of our circle here, and, although by a strange concurrence of circumstances, we are free of all company, and can breakfast with a number of Bengalee converts, and then dine with the highest in the service, and even at the Governor-General's table, this is not the case with the members of our congregation; scarcely is the most opulent tradesman ever permitted to dine with a Civil servant." Mr. Brown,

with all his zeal for missions and translations, regarded every educational effort with contempt. Mr. Thomason, the chaplain at the old church and a firm friend of the missionaries, offered to assist the institution in any mode except by taking a seat in the committee. The missionaries were thus constrained by the exigency of circumstances to stand forth as its self-constituted managers, and take on themselves the sole responsibility of the faithful application of the funds. It was a novel and anomalous position, but there was no alternative except to abandon the design of the institution altogether. At a subsequent period, this procedure became a prominent article of accusation against them ; but neither on this, nor on any future occasion, when they were obliged to pursue the same course, had they any cause to regret that they had thus thrown themselves on the confidence of the public. In the month of March of this year, Mr. Owen Leonard, who had served in the ranks and in the trenches at the capture of Seringapatam, was appointed the assistant-teacher in the Benevolent Institution, and to him the exclusive management was soon after transferred. The singular popularity which it acquired during the first year of its existence, among the parents of the children, was to be ascribed in a great measure to Mr. Leonard's tact and energy, which even his warm Irish temperament and military sternness did not neutralise.

Although the direct hostility of Government to the missionary enterprise had been considerably mitigated, the missionaries were frequently reminded of the effect produced on the minds of the natives and the public officers of the state, by the knowledge that missions were obnoxious to official men in England and in India. Two examples, promiscuously chosen, will be sufficient to explain the nature and effects of this feeling. Mr. Chamberlain had visited the military cantonment of Berhampore, thirty miles above his station at Cutwa, to preach to the European soldiers quartered there.

*Influence of the
opposition of
Government to
Missions.*

The commandant of the station, hearing of these services, sent to him to inquire officially whether he had the authority of the Governor-General for "migrating at his own discretion within the Company's jurisdiction." Mr. Chamberlain replied that, though he possessed no license, it was generally understood that the missionaries had the tacit permission of Government to reside in the provinces, as long as they demeaned themselves with propriety. The general replied that, according to his information, the Government, so far from "permitting the migration of the Baptist missionaries, had restricted their residence to the town of Serampore," and Mr. Chamberlain was accordingly required to remove from the station as quickly as possible. On another occasion, a young man, the nephew of a wealthy native in Calcutta, had visited the itinerant Krishnu, and not only announced his determination to embrace Christianity, but thrown up his caste by eating with the Christians. An attempt was made by his relatives to seize him in the streets of Calcutta, but Mr. Ward conveyed him safely to Serampore, and lodged him in the mission-house. When the fact became known, a mob of Hindoos collected before the magistrate's gate, with some of the most influential and opulent natives at their head. They demanded the immediate surrender of the youth, reminding the magistrate of the orders which Sir George Barlow, as Governor-General, had issued against the missionaries. One of the most respectable of the crowd likewise placed in his hands a copy of the most virulent of the pamphlets published by Major Scott Waring against the missionaries. It was discovered, on inquiry, that several hundred copies of these anti-missionary tracts had been sent out to India, and widely and gratuitously distributed throughout the country among the natives who were acquainted with English, in the hope of inflaming their minds against the Serampore missionaries. The magistrate endeavoured, and not without success, to calm their excited feelings, and the mob gradually dispersed. The youth re-

turned the same evening to Calcutta, and the local irritation rapidly subsided.

Such occurrences as these served, from time to time, to show the missionaries how powerfully the undisguised hostility of Government to the mission told against them in the sphere of their labours, and it was with no little satisfaction they perceived some indications of a more favourable feeling on this subject. This was to be attributed, in some measure, to the censure on Lord Minto's harsh and hasty proceedings against the missionaries, which had been delicately but unequivocally conveyed in the Court's reply, to which reference has already been made. It was, perhaps, owing also to the conciliatory demeanour as well as constancy of the Serampore missionaries. The first evidence of this friendly disposition was manifested in a case which occurred at Madras. Mr. Lee, of the London Missionary Society, ventured to apply to Government for leave to settle as a missionary at Vizagapatam. Mr. Brown and Dr. Carey, and even Mr. Udny, who had been five years in council, and understood the temper of Government, considered the application an act of great rashness, and were confident that it could issue only in his immediate banishment from the country. To their surprise, permission was granted at Madras, and then confirmed by the Supreme Council at Calcutta. This circumstance was immediately communicated to Mr. Fuller. It was five years since any missionaries had been sent out by the Society, and as the last two had been ordered to return to England as soon as they set foot in India, Mr. Fuller had prudently refrained from any other effort to recruit the mission. His friends at Serampore were now able to announce a favourable change in the disposition of Government, and it was under this first dawn of encouragement that Mr. Lawson and Mr. Johns embarked for America to take shipping for Calcutta.

The missionaries at Serampore were not slow to take

Favourable
change in Go-
vernment.

advantage of the turn of tide, and they began to entertain a hope that the long-desired permission to establish stations in the country would no longer be withheld. They were particularly desirous of planting a mission on the borders of the Punjab. The principle of action they had laid down in reference to missions beyond the limits of Bengal was, to prepare and print the best translation of the New Testament they could effect into the language of the country, and to send a missionary into it to distribute the work, and cultivate the language on the spot, with a view to the gradual improvement of the version. This plan was recommended to their minds by various considerations. However imperfect the first translation might be, it was still suited to the object of giving the people a clear view of the leading doctrines of Christianity; it enabled the missionary to enter on his labours at once, and it was calculated to afford him valuable assistance in the study of the language. Such a plan was, of course, adapted only to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and to the position of the Serampore mission, which was then the only agency existing in Northern India, for the diffusion of Divine truth. The Gospels had recently been completed in the language of the Sikhs, and it was desirable to send them into circulation. The Sikhs were originally Hindoos, but, under the guidance of their great spiritual leader, Baba Nanuk, they had broken off from the orthodox creed, and for more than a century had formed a nation of sectaries. Mr. Ward had been led, in the course of his researches, to examine their creed with particular attention, and he came to the conclusion that there must be a favourable opening for the introduction of the Gospel among a people accustomed to religious innovations. A meeting was held at Serampore to discuss the question; the map of India was spread out on the table, and Mr. Ward, turning to Mr. Chamberlain, who had come from Cutwa, inquired whether he was willing to venture

Mission to the
North-West.

on such a mission. Mr. Chamberlain's natural spirit of enterprise, and his aptitude for the acquisition of languages, fitted him for a mission of this character. He was not long in making up his mind to accept the offer, and it was resolved that Mr. Peacock, then employed in the Benevolent Institution, should accompany him. The one was as mild and gentle in his temper as the other was impetuous and overbearing; and it is not impossible that this might have been one motive of the choice.

The missionaries made selection of Saharunpore, one of the frontier stations in the direction of the Punjab, and they ventured to present an official application to the Governor-General, on the 18th of September, for permission to send two missionaries to that station to improve the translation of the Scriptures in the Punjabee and Hindoostanee languages. After an interval of ten days, Mr. Tucker, the public secretary, replied that Government was under the necessity of refusing the request, but the Governor-General desired it to be explained that he had been influenced in this determination only by those considerations which rendered it imprudent for any Europeans, not sustaining a public character, to settle in the frontier districts in the present circumstances of the country. The letter, though it negatived their request, was one of the most encouraging the missionaries had received from the Government. It was no longer objected that the missionaries were without the permission of the Honourable Court to remain in the country. There was no allusion to the standing argument against missions, that the Government had a pledge to maintain, and national faith and honour to support, and could not allow the missionaries to molest the natives in the exercise of their religion by the promulgation of another creed. The refusal was based on no objection applicable to missionaries alone. Mr. Marshman immediately called on Mr. Edmonstone, and found him not only friendly, but cordial. He advised that the missionaries

Friendly correspondence with Government.

should seek permission to settle at Agra or Delhi, and that Mr. Marshman should have a personal interview with Lord Minto, with whom he promised intermediately to communicate on the subject. Mr. Marshman lost no time in waiting on the Governor-General, and, after some conversation regarding the Chinese translations, brought up the question of a mission to the north-west provinces, for which he presumed that Mr. Edmonstone had already prepared him. Lord Minto said he believed a request to send a mission to Agra or Delhi would be granted, and he promised to inform him of the result of the deliberations at the Council Board, after which nothing further would be necessary than for the missionaries destined for the north-west to make an application *for leave to proceed thither, saying nothing of anything else*. The application was accordingly made, but Lord Minto was unwilling to record a formal order in the consultations, as this must have brought the subject distinctly before the Court of Directors, who might have revoked the permission. A demi-official communication was therefore made to Mr. Chamberlain from the secretary's office, simply informing him that the passport for himself and his associate was prepared, and would be delivered, whenever he called for it, on the payment of the usual fee of two gold mohurs, then equal to about 4*l*. As the system of passports has been entirely abolished in India for more than a quarter of a century, the following copy of Mr. Chamberlain's passport may possess some antiquarian interest:—

“To the Commanding Officers of Stations, Chief or Subordinate, &c. whom it may concern.

“This is to certify that the bearer hereof, Mr. John Chamberlain, has the permission of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council to reside at Agra during the pleasure of Government, subject to all orders and regulations which may be communicated to him from time to time by the Commanding Officer, and by the Judge and Magistrate of Agra. Mr. Chamberlain is required immediately on his arrival at Agra to report himself to the Magis-

trate of that station and produce this passport. If he should neglect to report himself, and shall be unable to assign a satisfactory reason for this omission, he will be considered to have forfeited the benefit of the passport, and will be liable to be sent immediately to the Presidency by the Magistrate. Mr. Chamberlain is also required to give due notice to the Magistrate whenever he may intend to quit his jurisdiction, and to specify the place to which he may propose to proceed.

“ Given by order of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council of Fort William, in Bengal, this 16th day of November, 1810.

“ H. TUCKER,

“ Sec. to the Govt. Pub. Dept.”

There was much cause for gratitude for this first relaxation of the rigid opposition to the missionary cause which had been manifested for five years. But it was impossible for the missionaries, who had devoted life and purse, heart and soul, to this great enterprise of Christian benevolence, not to feel that the treatment they had received from a British and a Christian Government was not such as they had merited; and we find Mr. Ward recording the circumstance with this pungent remark — “ Now we are likely to get stations fixed with the public permission of Government, and we shall be tolerated like toads, and not hunted down like wild beasts.”

In one of Mr. Carey's letters of the present year we find him writing in a spirit of great animation of the work which had been accomplished in the translations: — “ When I first entered on the translation of the Scriptures into the Bengalee language, I thought that if ever I should live to see it completed, I could say with Simeon, ‘ Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word;’ but he has preserved me not only to see the version finished, but has given me an opportunity of making many corrections, in succeeding editions, in various parts of it, and also has preserved me to see portions of the Bible printed in Orissa, Sanscrit, Hindoostanee, Mahratta,

Character and
personal labours
of the
Missionaries.

Carnata, Telinga, and Punjabee, Matthew in Chinese, and a beginning in the Burmese translation." With all these herculean labours on him, he still regarded his exertions in the missionary cause with feelings of unfeigned humility, and said in his next letter:—"I have often thought that the work must be obstructed by me, and that the God who aboundeth in all wisdom and prudence in the dispensations of his grace, could not give a blessing to the labours of such a one as I am, without deviating from that wisdom and prudence which He always observes. I have often been discouraged on account of that apparent want of every pre-requisite for publishing the gospel, both natural and moral, of which I am undoubtedly the subject. A natural backwardness for spiritual conversation, a perpetual vagrancy of mind, and uncommon barrenness of idea, a great prevalence of unsanctified affection, to which I may now add a great decay of recollection, have long pressed me down, and convinced me that the ministry of the Gospel is not the work for which I am fitted. I have for years been obliged to drag myself on, to subject myself to rules, to impose the day's work upon myself, to stir myself up to my work, perhaps sometimes several times in an hour, and, after all, to sit down in confusion at my indolence and inertness in all to which I set my hand. I often compare myself with my brethren, particularly Brethren Marshman and Ward, with whose daily conduct I am best acquainted. The first of these is all eagerness for the work. Often have I seen him, when we have been walking together, eye a group of persons, as a hawk looks on its prey, and go up to them with a resolution to try the utmost strength of Gospel reasons upon them. Often have I known him engage with such ardour in a dispute with men of lax conduct or deistical sentiments, and labour the point with them for hours together without fatigue, nay, more eager for the contest when he left off than when he began, as has filled me with shame. In point of zeal he is Luther, and I am Erasmus. Brother Ward has such a

facility of addressing spiritual things to the heart, and his thoughts run so naturally in that channel, that he fixes the minds of all who hear him on what he says, while I, after making repeated efforts, can scarcely get out a few dry sentences, and should I meet with a rebuff at the beginning, sit, like a silly mute, and scarcely say anything at all. Reflections such as these have occasioned and still do occasion me much distress."

Of the extraordinary personal labours of Mr. Ward, even at the most oppressive season of the year, we have a description in his Journal of the 17th of June. In the morning he received two soldiers into the Church on their confession of faith, and then preached to a large English congregation in the Bow Bazar Chapel, and subsequently held a meeting in the vestry, to catechise as many children as could be accommodated there. He then went to the house of an enquirer, and proceeded from thence to the great jail, a distance of three miles, and preached to the prisoners, first in English and then in Bengalee, and held a religious service with three soldiers in the hospital. After dusk, he went into the fort, and addressed a congregation of soldiers in a close and suffocating room. In the evening he met a number of friends at the house of one of the members of the church, and passed an hour in social and religious conversation, closing the labours of the day, at ten, with devotional exercises. The only remark he makes on exertions which appear too severe for any European constitution in a tropical climate, is, "Preaching in black cloth in this climate is a sad burden. My clothes have been saturated with perspiration three times to-day, and the very papers in my pocket are dyed black. . . Thus you see the heat of the climate does not prevent a hard day's work."

While Mr. Marshman was thus zealously employed in prosecuting his missionary labours, he cheerfully availed himself of the opportunity of literary intercourse with Dr. Leyden and other friends in Calcutta. The religious views of Dr. Leyden

and Mr. Marshman were not in accord, but they felt a common interest in the pursuits of literature, more particularly in the field of Eastern philology. On this neutral ground they were able to meet without any clashing of opinions, but it was on the implied condition, rendered necessary after several collisions, that the topic of religion should not be introduced. It was at one of these social meetings that Dr. Leyden, forgetting the convention, made some disparaging remarks on the doctrines of the Bible, alluding more particularly to the epistle to the Ephesians, of which he said he had been reading over the first chapter, without being able to make any thing of it. "And therefore," replied Mr. Marshman, "you think yourself justified in your objections to the Christian revelation. Now, I was anxious some time back to study the theory of medicine, and, at your recommendation, took up Cullen's First Lines, but, though I read the whole of the first chapter through with the greatest attention, I found myself unable to comprehend it. Am I therefore justified in denouncing the whole science of medicine?" The unreserved and friendly intercourse which subsisted between them will be apparent from two of Dr. Leyden's letters, which will likewise illustrate one of the most prominent defects in Mr. Marshman's character. Though he possessed the most powerful memory, perhaps, of any man in India in regard to dates, facts and opinions, he seldom remembered to return books, and he had all his life been an insatiable borrower.

"And now with respect to the books which you have recollected so well to return, you have made me tell more lies than any good Scotchman ever did on the same subject, by not sending them as I expected. Moreover, you forgot entirely to send me the Quarterly Review, which is wanted by Mr. Adam, the owner, and there is another Edinburgh Review, viz. that of the article on Methodism, which belongs to the Circulating Library and has been long wanted, which you have had these four months. Besides, there is my Historical Sketch which is wanted, and till I get it, I really cannot call on Mr. Harington. Moreover there is my Burman MS. which I cannot go on without. In short, there is no end of your mistakes

and forgettings, and of my wants; and your friend Confucius will positively excuse you no longer, and says you can never be a great man till you can tell where any book is lying or reposing in your library, and the whole series of them, as clearly as the Chinese dynasties. Therefore I hope you will speedily come to a right sense of the evil of your ways, and recollect the *suum cuique tributo* as the first maxim in borrowing books is nearly equal to the *quod utile cuique* in lending them. Therefore if your memory fails you, you may expect a preachification which will be very edifying."

"I received Confucius in a much more damaged state than I could have wished, though you say much less than you expected. Colebrooke is a man particularly careful about his books, and you are one particularly negligent, and the whole that I think is that this will not promote your cause with him. Indeed, to tell you the truth, I should not have ventured to lend you a book not *mine* had I not expected you to take better care of it. This, by the bye, is a very general complaint of you and one that you will do well to correct. You lost my Malay Pentateuch through your carelessness, and spoilt Colebrooke's Confucius, and you have, I find, wetted the Anam Dictionary and lost the title page, for the library of the Coll.; and you let Mr. Manning's Chinese volumes fall into the water and spoiled them. In short, you have cracked your credit with the whole circle of book-lenders. As for myself, you ask if I have any books of yours, for you have forgot; now this is very bad to forget, but if you have, I have not. I have four vols. of yours and several pamphlets. In like manner you have one of mine, which I hope is in Mr. Ward's hands and not yours, or I should be apt to insure it against wear and tear, which with you is quite abominable."

About the beginning of the year 1810 a very agreeable addition was made to this literary circle by the arrival of Mr. Thomas Manning in Calcutta. His family was settled at Diss in Norfolk, and he had taken a good degree at Cambridge, after which he was led, by his natural love of literary enterprise, to cultivate the Chinese language. He was the friend and associate of Charles Lamb, some of the most interesting of whose letters are addressed to his "Chinese mandarin." Mr. Manning took advantage of the Peace of Amiens to visit Paris, and examine the rich stores of Chinese literature collected in the Bibliothèque

Nationale. He subsequently went to Macao, but found it impossible to accomplish his object of entering the country, and came round to Bengal, in the hope of being able to reach it by way of Tibet or Assam. He was accompanied by a Chinese youth, a Christian, who had received a classical education from the Roman Catholic missionaries at Peking, and spoke Latin, in which he always communicated with Mr. Manning, with great fluency. To facilitate his object of entering China, Mr. Manning assumed the Chinese costume, the wooden shoes, the buttoned cap, and the long tail, and cultivated a magnificent black beard, which gave additional dignity to his very expressive countenance. Thus arrayed, he hoped to be able to pass into the country as a Tartar, but he had no sooner arrived at Llassa, than he was discovered to be foreigner; and a report having been forwarded to Peking that an Englishman had made his appearance there in the disguise of a Chinese, an order was issued to seize him and convey him under a guard to the capital. "I should be far better with than without my head," he wrote to a friend in Calcutta, "and I am therefore beating a retreat in all speed to the British territories." On his first arrival in Calcutta, he immediately sought the acquaintance of the only individual, besides himself, who had pursued the study of Chinese, and this kindred pursuit soon brought them into close intimacy. Mr. Marshman's admiration of Mr. Manning's talents increased with their acquaintance, and he describes him in one of his letters, as "a man of singular erudition and penetration, and certainly one of the first in the list of Chinese scholars of the present day." At a subsequent period, he referred to him as "his friend, who to the most exquisite classical taste unites the delicacy and the incorruptible integrity which characterise the scholar and the gentleman." It was in the present year that Mr., afterwards Sir Stamford, Raffles, the Secretary to the Government of Penang, came up from the Straits to confer with the Governor-General on the

expedition to Java, then in contemplation. He had made the acquaintance of Dr. Leyden, during his sojourn in the eastern islands, and was introduced by him to Mr. Marshman, with whom a friendly intercourse, founded on mutual respect, was soon matured. These friends were in the habit of supping together at Dr. Leyden's, and their sitting was often prolonged beyond midnight. It was the most intellectual and interesting little coterie in Calcutta. Leyden was a literary colossus, and had applied, with incredible diligence, to the cultivation of every branch of Oriental literature. Manning was one of the most accomplished scholars in India. Raffles may almost be said to have appropriated to himself the languages and the literature of the Eastern Archipelago; and Dr. Hare, another of the party, was one of the most eminent physicians in the city, and a man of cultivated taste. Whatever difference of opinion may have existed in this circle on the subject of religion, they fully appreciated the fervour of Mr. Marshman's zeal in the cause of Indian improvement, and delighted in the society of one whose stores of reading appeared to be inexhaustible. On his part, he derived no ordinary enjoyment from these literary discussions, into which he could enter without any compromise of Christian principle or intrepidity. Of Mr. Manning's correspondence with Mr. Marshman, only one letter has been preserved. It ran thus:—

“ My dear Friend, I have taken a resolution of going to Sylhet, and to Manipore, if possible, and intend leaving Calcutta in eight or ten days from the date of this. So short a journey will occasion but a slight loss of time, even if I should be unable to strike off from Manipore, eastward, to you know what empire. I had some hopes that Dr. Leyden would accompany me, taking me, as it were as his Chinese Moonshee, and by that means easily pushing me off at Manipore, or wherever it might be. I thought this a very useful scheme for me. I think so still, but all seems uncertainty in that quarter, which is sufficient with me to reduce such assistance to the rank of ordinary events, and consequently to

wear me from any enthusiasm concerning it. So, no more of that.

“Now I would propose a plan in which you might help me. 'Tis that Mr. Lassar should go with me as an Armenian, I furnishing the merchandise, and paying all expenses. The advantage to me you see at one glance; viz. what I have above adverted to, and his instruction in the Chinese. Any present that I could make him in the end would be but small, because my means are small. but however able I were in that respect, I would not apply to him otherwise than through you. For if such an arrangement be really inconvenient to you, and should really seem so after you have considered all things, both as my friend, and a friend of mankind, then there's an end of it. I am sure that you see whatever difference there may be in our opinions and views; and even supposing that where we differ essentially I am wrong, yet I am equally an instrument in the hands of Providence, and may equally be the means of opening China to the real and eternal goods of the western world.”

In the prosecution of his Chinese studies at this period Mr. Marshman derived much assistance and encouragement from Father Rodrigues, a Roman Catholic Missionary, born and educated in Brazil, who had spent ten years at Peking, and was intimately acquainted both with the written and colloquial language of China. He came round to Bengal about this time on his return to his native land, and remained nine months in Calcutta, where Mr. Marshman soon sought his acquaintance. Father Rodrigues exhibited that general liberality of sentiment, and that absence of religious antagonism which was at that period common to the Roman Catholic Missionaries in the East, and he found no small reciprocity of feeling in this respect at Serampore. He was ignorant of English, but he spoke and wrote Latin fluently, and Mr. Marshman opened a correspondence with him in that language “as the easiest medium,” he remarks, “of communicating our ideas to each other.” In noticing this circumstance to Dr. Ryland, he says, “It is a matter of considerable value to any young man who may come eastward on missionary work, to acquire a facility of writing Latin correctly; and, indeed,

of speaking it, if he has opportunity. The Romish missionaries are scattered in almost all parts of the East, and it may often be of service to correspond with them, for which Latin is the proper language. I heard a young Chinese conversing lately in Latin, with great apparent readiness, who had been brought up at Pekin with the Roman Catholic Missionaries." Mr. Marshman then alluded to the great obligation under which he lay to Father Rodrigues for his readiness in communicating the valuable information he had collected regarding Chinese literature, and for the loan of his Chinese works. "I seem after seeing Rodrigues and Manning as though just beginning my career, so great is the pleasure of present study and future anticipation."

It was at this time that Mr. Marshman published the first volume of his English translation of the works of Confucius, with a preliminary dissertation on the language of China. Considering the disadvantages under which this work was undertaken, without any of those facilities for the cultivation of the language which were to be found in the country itself, the work is a monument of literary enterprise, and fully merited the hearty encomium passed on it by Lord Minto in his annual address to the students of the College:

"The first volume of the works of Confucius, which was announced last year, has been lately issued from the Mission press at Serampore, and is preceded by a dissertation on the Chinese language, which throws considerable light on that very singular and obscure system. This work contains the text of the venerable author printed in the Chinese character, the types of which have been prepared and submitted to the press by the patient and ingenious industry of the translator and editor. The translation is referred by numbers over each sentence, to the corresponding words of the Chinese text, and is accompanied by an ample commentary. This book, therefore, while it renders the long-venerated lessons of the Chinese sage accessible for the first time to an English reader, furnishes also the best clue to guide the inquisitive student through the unexplored labyrinths of this extraordinary

language, and supplies perhaps the only elementary aid which can be provided for the acquisition of a language constructed upon a plan so anomalous as to exclude, or I should, perhaps, rather say, as to seem to exclude the application of those grammatical theories which have indeed been deduced from languages after their practical use had been established, but the universal principles of which must be thought to have presided in the origin and regulation of oral and written transmission of thought in all its possible or imaginable modes and forms. Mr. Marshman, both by the principal work, and by his preliminary dissertation, appears to have led the way in reconciling this apparent anomaly with the general and fundamental principles of human intercourse; and, by letting in light upon this Chinese mystery, to have done something towards its solution. I cannot willingly omit the opportunity which this singular publication presents of offering the homage which appears to me to be due to this laudable effort of modest genius and labour; which has pushed forward the apparently hopeless project of forming a Chinese school, under circumstances so little propitious to such an undertaking, to a point of success and efficiency which larger means and more powerful encouragement could hardly have justified a hope of attaining. This commendable design has advanced, however, silently, without aid or notice, by the innate powers of strenuous, though humble and unassuming energy of mind, directed by liberal and virtuous views. What Mr. Marshman has already accomplished, both in the tuition of the young but distinguished pupils, and in works, the produce of self-instruction, would have done honour to institutions fostered by all the aids of munificence and power; to have risen in the shade, *ipsi suis pollens opibus*, renders his successful labours only the more worthy of admiration."

After the last sheet of the work had passed through the press, Mr. Marshman was enabled to obtain a copy of the Latin translation of Confucius, made by the Jesuit fathers, and printed at Paris in 1686. This version bore the character rather of a paraphrase than a literal translation. As his translation, though finished at press, had not yet been published, he was enabled to add a postscript, in which the salient points of difference he discovered between the two versions — which, however, were insignificant — were unreservedly communicated to the reader.

Towards the close of the present year, Mr. Ward published the first edition of his work on the "History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos, including a minute description of their manners and customs, and translations from their principal works," for which he had been collecting materials since his arrival in the country. It opens with the Hindoo account of the creation, of the divisions of the earth, and more particularly of India, and presents a brief narrative of the succession of Hindoo monarchs, drawn from Hindoo records, from the "golden age" to the advent of the Mahommedans. After a rapid notice of the period of Mussulman history, he introduces the native version of the facts connected with the rise and growth of British power in Bengal, as exhibited in several historical treatises which had been compiled by the natives themselves, after the battle of Plassey. This historical sketch is valuable chiefly from the view it presents of the opinions then current among the natives on this interesting subject. But their statements, when compared with the minute and accurate details given in our own official records, only serve to show the degree of ignorance which prevailed on the true character of these events among those who may be said to have been contemporary with them. Mr. Ward then proceeds to treat of the divisions of caste, sacerdotal and secular, and of their distinguishing customs, duties and employments. A large chapter is then devoted to the manners and peculiarities of the different classes of society, their domestic occupations and habits, the current of their thoughts and feelings as exhibited in their conversation and correspondence; the ceremonies practised on the occasion of births, marriages, and deaths, and a variety of interesting and miscellaneous particulars calculated to illustrate the interior life of Hindoo families. The next chapter treats of Hindoo philosophy, of the systems promulgated by the great sages of Hindoo antiquity, the Vedas and the Poorans,

Mr. Ward's work
on the History,
Literature and
Mythology of the
Hindoos.

the civil and criminal code, and the principles and practice of government. He then gives his remarks on the works relative to religious ceremonies, on their poetical works, and treatises on music and rhetoric, and closes the chapter with observations on the existing state of Hindoo learning, and its gradual decay.

The second volume embraces the mythology of the Hindoos, and the character and exploits of the more popular objects of worship, and gives a full and minute description of the multiplied religious ceremonies, of which the life of a Hindoo is composed, and it ends with a reference to the principal heterodox sects which had sprung up in the bosom of Hindooism. The work is a rich treasury of information, and exhibits in an extraordinary degree that patient and laborious spirit of research which inspires confidence. Its value has not been diminished by fifty years of subsequent investigation, and, as a whole, it continues to maintain its authority as the fullest and most accurate record of the subjects on which it treats. The least valuable portion of it is that which relates to the sects of Hindoo philosophy, and the doctrines by which they were distinguished. Mr. Ward was but imperfectly acquainted with Sanscrit, and was therefore unable to consult the original authorities. He employed some of the most learned pundits on the establishment at Serampore, to make extracts from the philosophical works of the different schools, which they translated into the vernacular tongue, and thus furnished him with the information given in his work. Since its publication, many profound Orientalists have dived into the Sanscrit treatises, and have thus been enabled to present a more ample, and, perhaps, a more correct exposition of their doctrines. The most important section of the work is that which describes the domestic manners and habits, the thoughts and the feelings of the people. It exhibits an acquaintance with the interior economy of native society which has never been surpassed, and is still regarded as

the most accurate and vivid representation of it we possess. Some have objected to the dark colours in which Mr. Ward has drawn the native character, and those who consider it to be marked by mildness and benevolence, have reprobated the characteristics of falsehood and ingratitude, treachery and cruelty, which he has given to it. Some have even affirmed that his dark picture of the Hindoo is to be ascribed to the influence of his missionary feelings, and was designed to show the importance of missionary exertions among a people whom he described as sunk to "the utmost depths of human depravity." But all these suspicions of exaggeration have been at once and for ever dispelled by recent events. While these pages are passing through the press, the mutiny of a hundred thousand of our native soldiery has been announced, and Mr. Ward's view of the genuine character of Hindooism has been lamentably verified by the wanton and unparalleled atrocities committed on unoffending women and helpless babes, by the mild and humane Hindoos, when released from all restraint, and at liberty to indulge their passions.

CHAP. IX.

AT the beginning of 1811 an Auxiliary Bible Society was formed in Calcutta. It was a gratifying token of the religious improvement which had been gradually making progress in the patrician circle of society in and around the metropolis, where, thirteen years before, there had been a larger attendance on Sundays at the race-course than in the sanctuary. This movement was preceded by a sermon preached at the Mission Church in Calcutta by the Rev. Henry Martyn, in which he advocated the claims of 900,000 Christians in India, and urged the establishment of an institution for promoting the circulation of the Scriptures among them, and also among the heathen. This estimate of the number who then bore the Christian name in India was, however, considerably beyond the truth. The Christian population has not diminished since that period, but even at the present time it is not considered by the Roman Catholics themselves greatly to exceed 600,000. The sermon was printed and widely circulated in Calcutta and in the country, and a meeting was held at the College of Fort William, a Government institution, when it was resolved to establish a society, auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, to aid the distribution of the Bible in the East, without note or comment, and especially to supply the demands of the native Christians. Mr. Brown, who was the animating soul of this movement, intended it to supersede the Corresponding Committee of the Bible Society in Calcutta, and to absorb its functions; he therefore proposed to Dr. Carey that he and his colleagues should withdraw from that committee, preparatory

to its dissolution. Dr. Carey refused to accede to this proposal; he thought it should be left to the parent society, whom the committee represented, to propose its extinction, if it appeared desirable. In the course of this conversation it transpired that, in the opinion of Mr. Brown, the public would not be likely to support the new society if the Serampore Missionaries, or indeed any missionaries, were said to be associated with it. Dr. Carey remarked that, if this were the case, an additional reason was furnished for maintaining the Corresponding Committee, which was extensively employed in providing Scriptures for distribution among the heathen by the agency of missionaries. But this rule of exclusion was rejected as soon as it was proposed, and it was resolved that Christian missionaries of all persuasions who aided the society should be entitled to attend and vote at the meetings of the committee. But the Advocate-General, Mr. Robert Percy Smith, the brother of the celebrated Sydney Smith, objected to the latitude of this resolution, and he was conciliated by an official avowal that the Auxiliary Bible Society of Calcutta had no connection with missions. Mr. Brown expected that the subscription in the first year would reach 10,000*l*. The hope was fostered by some recent instances of extraordinary liberality in the European community. A subscription, for instance, had been raised a few months before for the widow of a merchant, reduced to destitution by his death, and it soon amounted to 8000*l*. An attorney, greatly esteemed in society, but so decided an enemy to Christianity that he had repeatedly expressed his wish that Carey, Marshman, and Ward, were hanged in the Lall Bazar, then the Tyburn of Calcutta, had been thrown out of his gig, and died soon after. In a few days the public liberality created a purse for his widow of 10,000*l*. But, notwithstanding these instances of noble generosity in an age of large official salaries, and larger mercantile profits, it was unreasonable to expect similar liberality for Christian objects in a community so little

under the influence of Christian principle. The subscription, however, did amount to 3500*l.*; a large sum, not so much for the resources as for the feelings of the age.

The Serampore Missionaries, though they had not been asked to assist in the formation of the society, sent a donation of 30*l.*, as a token of their cordial approbation of its object; and Mr. Harington, the president, in acknowledging the contribution, expressed his hope that they would attend the meetings of the committee, and give it the benefit of their long experience. The society soon had an opportunity of estimating the value of their aid. Some fifteen years before, the superintendent of the Government press in Calcutta, where official papers were printed by contract, was in the habit of boasting that he would not exchange his post for that of a member of council, who received 10,000*l.* a year. The price of printing had been somewhat reduced since that time by competition; but the charge was still so extravagant that the revenues of the new society would have been exhausted by two versions. The cost of printing an edition of the Malayalam Gospels at Bombay, for instance, had been 1800*l.* For double the number of copies of the entire New Testament, the expense would only have been 400*l.* at the Serampore press. The Auxiliary Society therefore cordially accepted the offer of the Serampore missionaries to print the Singalese, the Malayalam, and the Tamul New Testaments at the same economical rate. The Corresponding Committee of the Bible Society continued to prosecute and, in some measure, to extend its operations, after the formation of the Auxiliary Society. At the beginning of the present year Father Sebastiani, a Roman Catholic Missionary, who had resided many years in Persia, came round to Calcutta and applied to the Serampore Missionaries to print a translation he had made of the New Testament into the Persian language. They thought the proposal came more within the scope of the Corresponding Committee, and, when it was

Assistance given
to the society by
the Serampore
Missionaries.

brought forward, supported it with much vigour, and it was resolved to publish an edition from its funds, and to allow Father Sebastiani 1500 copies for his own use on his supplying the paper. "If you ask," says Dr. Marshman, in a letter to Mr. Fuller, "why we encourage a vote for every translation which thus comes in the way, we reply that we know the work to be very great, and we have no fear of its being done too well or too soon." Of the translation itself, he says, "though it be not wholly free from imperfections, it will doubtless do much good."

The committee of the Auxiliary Society included men of diverse creeds, Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Armenian. Mr. Harington, the Judge of the Supreme Native Court, was president, and Mr.

Feelings of Government on missions.

Edmonstone, Chief Secretary to Government,

one of the vice-presidents. The acceptance of these offices by men of the highest standing in the public service, and the permission which had been given to establish a mission at Agra, which has been already alluded to, indicated some mitigation of hostility to the religious improvement of the people of India; but, as Mr. Ward observed, "the sky was still lowering, notwithstanding an occasional fine day." The standing orders of the Court for the deportation of all Europeans found in India without a license still existed, and might be put in force at any time by the malevolence of any officer. The London Missionary Society had sent two missionaries to Rangoon, of whom one died of fever, and the other came round to Calcutta at the beginning of 1811. He reported himself at the police office, and two or three days after was summoned to attend it, when an extract from a letter of Mr. Dowdeswell, now one of the secretaries to Government, was read to him, in which he was directed to return to England without delay. Mr. Charles Fuller Martyn, the police magistrate of Calcutta, who was never so much in his element as when busied in worrying missionaries, ordered him to fix a definite period for his departure, and allowed him a week

for his reply. The fleet, however, had sailed for England, and no vessel being available, he was enabled for a time to evade the order and continue at Serampore, where he took part in the English services of the missionaries. At length he escaped to the Coast, but the Supreme Government did not fail to express its extreme displeasure at his conduct. It was by a succession of such occurrences that the missionaries at Serampore were reminded of the precarious position of the missionary enterprise. The toleration they enjoyed was only by sufferance, and was liable to be interrupted when any new panic seized the Council Board, or any subordinate officer chose to exhibit his ill-will or caprice by denouncing the unlicensed missionary. As the period for the Charter discussions approached, the missionaries redoubled their importunity with Mr. Fuller, to seize the golden opportunity and secure a "legal toleration" for them in India.

The Benevolent Institution, established at the beginning of the previous year, was now reduced to such pecuniary straits as to endanger its existence. Lord Minto had returned from the Coast, after having quelled the mutiny, and Mr. Marshman renewed the discussion of the plan with Dr. Leyden, who promised to introduce it to his notice. But difficulties arose regarding the management of the Institution. Dr. Leyden wished to vest it in men who were not likely to look beyond the intellectual improvement of the scholars; but Mr. Marshman was anxious to make it the instrument of moral and religious cultivation. This diversity of views is thus described by Mr. Marshman in a letter to Mr. Fuller:—"I told him that we had no objection to patrons, as many as he chose, but that we would not part with the nomination of the teachers, even if we met with no support beyond our own circle.—'You talk wildly; why will you not?' 'Because we have no hope of any result from the plan if good men be not the teachers.'—'Who are good men?' 'Those who depend on Christ

Lord Minto and
the Benevolent
Institution.

for salvation, and feel the necessity of a change of heart.' — 'In other words, you wish to keep it in the hands of your own party.' 'We care nothing for party in the business; I would not for a moment object to any pædo. baptist teacher, but he must be a good man; no one else will care a jot for the souls of the children.' — 'This is all nonsense to me.' 'Not much to your credit, however, and you a man of so much knowledge; but we will never give this up.' — 'You are very silly and unreasonable; I am just going to his Lordship about the Institution.' 'Be it so; but we will never swerve from this point, whether you recommend it to his Lordship or not.' — 'How silly you are; I see I must do you good against your will.' 'Do just as you please, our minds are fixed.' " Dr. Leyden then introduced the plan of the Institution to Lord Minto, and did not fail to notice the "silly and unreasonable" determination of Mr. Marshman and his colleagues, which, however, Lord Minto at once disposed of by saying that he not only approved of the plan, but would quite as soon that honest Baptists were teachers as any others. Dr. Leyden then suggested that the plan would be ushered to the public under favourable auspices, if Lord Minto would subjoin a few lines to the Proposal, expressive of his approbation of the Institution. He consented to do so, as well as to support it by any subscription which Dr. Leyden might advise. The prospectus was left with him for this purpose; but, unhappily, just at this juncture his mind was diverted to the military and naval preparations for the expedition to Java, and the Benevolent Institution was forgotten. Lord Minto asked Dr. Leyden to accompany him to the eastward, and the prospect of indulging his passion for literary researches, not less than his own adventurous spirit, induced him to accept the proposal with joy. Mr. Marshman repeatedly pressed him to obtain the prospectus back from Lord Minto with his friendly opinion of it, but he embarked without returning it. Mr. Marshman felt no

small vexation at this disappointment, for he regarded the Benevolent Institution with a strong feeling of paternity. "This has cured me," he writes to Mr. Fuller, "of dependence on Leyden. Had I gone personally to Lord Minto, I should have succeeded better." But the two friends, so intimately associated in the common pursuits of literature, while so discordant in their views of religious truth, were never to meet again. Three weeks after the British troops landed in Java, Dr. Leyden imprudently ventured into a library which was said to contain a valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts, and entered a large low room which had not been ventilated for some time, and was at once struck down with malaria. An imprudent confidence in the gigantic strength of his constitution led him to reject all medical aid, and he died within three days, at the early age of thirty-six. After every deduction is made for his spirit of self-laudation, it will not be denied that no European in India, since the days of Sir William Jones, ever exhibited so insatiable a thirst for Oriental literature, or such extraordinary power of acquiring languages, as Dr. Leyden. His memory has been immortalised by his early friend and literary associate, Walter Scott:—

"His bright and brief career is o'er,
And mute his tuneful strains.
Quenched is his lamp of varied lore
That loved the light of song to pour;
A distant and a deadly shore
Has Leyden's cold remains."

The Benevolent Institution was by this time overwhelmed with debt; the monthly subscription had dwindled down to 45 Rs., while the expenditure had risen to 310 Rs. All hope of assistance from Lord Minto's patronage had vanished with his embarkation; and it was necessary to appeal at once to the public, or close the establishment. Mr. Marshman drew up a concise statement of the object

Opposition to the
Benevolent Institution.

of the Institution, and of the progress which had been made, as well as the embarrassment experienced for want of funds, and circulated it among the most influential gentlemen in Calcutta. Suddenly there arose a virulent opponent in the person of the Rev. Dr. James Ward, the Junior Presidency Chaplain, distinguished only by the arrogance of his ecclesiastical pretensions. He had denounced the Auxiliary Bible Society, because it afforded an opening for the association of Churchmen and Dissenters in the same field of labour. He now came forward and reprobated, with still greater acrimony, the plan of an educational institution, unconnected with the Established Church, and promoted by sectaries and schismatics. This was the first instance since the foundation of Calcutta, a century and a quarter before, in which any controversy had arisen out of the differences of Church and Dissent. Sectarian distinctions were scarcely known in India, where the only idea of religious antagonism which had ever been recognised, was the broad contrast of Christianity and Paganism. In a country where a gentleman's cook was generally a Bouddist or a Roman Catholic, and his domestics either Mahomedans or Pagans, there was little room for the development of Church principles, and the religious animosities of England were happily unknown. Dr. Ward's address fell upon the ears of men altogether unaccustomed to such sounds, and utterly regardless of his object. His personal demeanour had been marked by so much professional assumption, that he was no favourite either with the laity or with his own ministerial brethren, and his attack on the missionaries, as Nonconformists, was received with contemptuous indifference. Mr. Brown, his colleague at the Presidency Church, was more strongly united to the missionaries in evangelical sentiments than with Dr. Ward by clerical associations. On reading his address in the papers, he wrote to Mr. Marshman, "I send you the 'Calcutta Gazette,' containing Dr. Ward's attack on you. You know

my opinion both of your attempt, and of the Free School, and of all similar institutions. I am, therefore, an indifferent spectator on this occasion. I know you love war, and will like to skirmish, as something may be gained by it. I must say one thing in favour of Dr. Ward; he is a fair and open enemy, and has given you great advantage by his mode of attack, which you will no doubt improve by a moderate reply, appealing, in the fewest words possible to the good sense, humanity, and public spirit of society. If they say you are to blame in offering to instruct those destitute of all the means of instruction, then you are willing to lay down the plan so charitably conceived by you. With my heart I wish you success in this warfare. I am, ever yours most sincerely, D. B."

Mr. Thomason, the chaplain at the Mission Church, wrote to his friends at Serampore, "If Dr. Ward's reputation had stood high, it might have done you an injury; as it is, people will only say, it is like the man, and dismiss the matter; and the good cause will prosper." Mr. Marshman drew up a brief statement of the plan of the Institution, and dwelt emphatically on the necessity of establishing it in a place like Calcutta; clothing his appeal, as he said, "in the softest terms." This paper he sent for the revision of Mr. Brown, who expressed his approbation of it, and it was published in the most influential journals in Calcutta. On perusing it, Mr. Thomason wrote to him, "Nothing can be more convincing and engaging than your appeal to the public. Let the papers circulate it through the land. You will gain more from Dr. Ward's opposition than from his friendship. Affectionately yours, T. T." Dr. Ward, finding that he had made no impression on the public by his first address, now enlisted the Churchwardens of St. John's, who were ex-officio Governors of the Free School, in the cause, and issued a second paper under their joint signatures, entreating the public not to desert an institution connected with the Church of England for one set up

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by Dissenters; but neither did this address advance his purpose, nor check the tide of subscriptions to the Benevolent Institution, which seemed to rise in exact proportion to the efforts made to obstruct it. Finding that he could make no way even with the help of the Vestry, Dr. Ward proceeded to address Government officially, requesting its interference to suppress the Benevolent Institution, and uphold the Church. On hearing accidentally of this design, Mr. Marshman drew up a more elaborate statement on the subject, demonstrating that the objects of the two establishments were so different in character, that there could not possibly be any clashing of interests; that the Benevolent Institution received only day scholars, while the Free School boarded as well as educated its pupils; and that the object of the Institution was to pick up the ragged children wandering about the streets of Calcutta, for whom there was no accommodation in the older seminary, and to rescue them from the dominion of ignorance and vice. This document was sent to all the newspapers in Calcutta, and as the censorship was in full vigour, and the Secretary to Government was obliged to read over every article before he endorsed it with his imprimatur, or drew his fatal pen across it, the arguments in favour of the Institution were thus placed vividly before the most influential member of Government before Dr. Ward's proposal was discussed at the Council Board. It was at once rejected; and the Secretary was desired to inform Dr. Ward that Government declined to interfere in the matter. Nothing

Benefit of it.

could have been more opportune for the Serampore missionaries than this abortive attempt to put down the school. The interest created by the dispute was naturally transferred to the institution itself, which thus became accredited to Government, and universally known throughout the country. All fears regarding its support were at once removed. In the first year of its feeble existence, the contributions of the public amounted to only 48*l*. Dr. Ward's opposition opened the

public purse, and brought in 500*l*. “As we were happily kept,” writes Mr. Marshman, “from using one intemperate expression, the public have given us as much credit for temper and patience as for benevolence of intention, and the Institution is left by common suffrage under the sole direction of Carey, Marshman, and Ward.” The number of scholars was increased to more than two hundred, and the encouragement the missionaries received from the public emboldened them to purchase a piece of ground in the heart of the city, and to commence the erection of a spacious school-room capable of accommodating eight hundred children. The expense of this building, about 1200*l*., they defrayed from their own funds, charging a moderate rent for it to the Institution. This narrative has led us rather beyond the limits of the year under notice, to the remaining events of which we now turn.

The mission to Bootan was now finally relinquished, after three years of fruitless labour and expense. In the previous year Mr. Robinson renewed his attempt to obtain a footing on the frontier, and was diligently employed for four months in studying the language and erecting a dwelling. But the locality was the hotbed of malaria throughout the rains. When the rainy season, therefore, set in, he was at once prostrated by a fever, from which he had no sooner recovered than his children, and then his wife, were attacked with it. He conveyed her to the nearest station at Dinagepore for medical advice, but she sunk under the attack. In this state of desolation, he received intelligence that his house had been robbed, and that all his apparel was lost. He returned to Serampore to consult his brethren on the propriety of continuing to prosecute the plan of a mission in so unpromising a sphere. But Dr. Carey, in whose mind the extension of the mission and the translation of the Scriptures were ever uppermost, vehemently opposed the idea of abandoning Bootan as a field of mis-

Relinquishment
of the Mission to
Bootan.

sionary operations, and in that spirit of stern perseverance which distinguished his character, urged one more attempt. Mr. Robinson, therefore, left Serampore for the station in December, 1810, accompanied by Mr. Cornish. On reaching their destination, Mr. Robinson's fever returned, though in a milder form; but he was resolved to persevere, and, having procured a moonshee, resumed the study of the language. But on the night of the 25th of January, the house of the missionaries, at Barbaree, was attacked by a large gang of dacoits, who killed two of the servants and maintained a hand-to-hand conflict with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Cornish, both of whom were wounded in several places, and obliged to fly for safety with their families to a neighbouring field. The next morning they found that the robbers had rifled the house of everything they could carry off, and destroyed what they were obliged to leave. This fresh calamity produced another reference to Serampore; but Dr. Carey and his colleagues were even now unwilling to give up the enterprise, and advised Mr. Robinson to attempt to form a settlement in the country itself, instead of continuing on the frontier, which is always the most exposed to danger. He accordingly wrote to the Deb Raja, formally requesting leave to reside in Bootan, and study the language, and he determined that his future course should, without any further hesitation, be regulated by the reply. It came about the beginning of May, and at once extinguished all his hopes. The Raja said, "How can any Sahibs stay in Bootan? They are great people, and to let them remain in my country is not good, as I know not if they will do good or harm." This reply closed the door on all missionary efforts for the time in Bootan. Mr. Robinson returned to Serampore, and Mr. Raffles, having strongly urged on Mr. Marshman the establishment of a mission in the island of Java whenever it came into the possession of the British Government, Mr. Robinson held himself in readiness to proceed to the island. At the same time he

made an express stipulation that he should not embark in the work alone, and that one of the missionaries then expected from England should be sent to join him. This hankering after European society, when the work of the mission lay among the heathen, was very repugnant to the views of Dr. Carey, who had originally determined to bury himself among the natives, and had passed six years of his life surrounded by them alone. "When I see indigo manufacturers," he writes to Mr. Fuller, "and military men suffering privations and braving dangers for an inferior object, and others settled singly all over the country, I confess I think it a great waste to send two European brethren to any station in Bengal, especially as a person can scarcely go in any direction without finding a European." Yet after fifty years of experience, it is the general opinion of all missionary bodies, that to leave a station dependent on a single missionary is highly inexpedient.

Mr. Cornish relinquished the mission at once. The remembrance of the night of the robbery, and of the privations he had suffered, quenched all his missionary ardour, and he turned from Barbaree as Pliable from the Slough of Despond, and resumed his secular employments, though not without the full concurrence of the Serampore missionaries. It was one of the advantages attending the system they had been constrained to adopt of sending into the missionary field the young men whom they found in the country, that in every case of disappointment, when the young missionary broke down in the training, and appeared unequal to the race, his connection with the mission was dissolved, and missionary funds were relieved from the burden of his support. On the other hand, it was one of the most serious disadvantages arising out of the appointment of missionaries from England, that they continued to encumber the resources of the Society long after it became palpable that they could never afford any real assistance

The advantage
of raising up Mis-
sionaries in the
country.

to the cause. Of the missionaries sent out by the Society — with the exception of the three at Serampore — eight were still, after the early casualties, on its roll; but one half of them ought never to have embarked in labours for which they were totally unsuited. In reference to one of them, Mr. Ward writes to Mr. Fuller, “He translates in none of the languages; he has attempted no language but the Bengalee, and in this, I fear, he will never be worth a straw. He makes one blush every time he endeavours to speak in this language, and as to his hearers profiting by this jargon, it is out of the question.” Of two of them Dr. Carey writes in this year, “They will do nothing, and can do nothing,” yet they continued on the missionary funds for many years, while Mr. Cornish retired from the mission as soon as his inefficiency became manifest. The same difficulty is felt by missionary societies as by other bodies, regarding the removal of men who are simply incompetent to the task assigned to them, without being chargeable with any act of glaring impropriety. To the same effect is the following remark in one of Mr. Brown’s letters to Mr. Marshman: “I am convinced Fuller ought to have come out. Weakness ruined the missionary efforts of the London Missionary Society, and weakness would have ruined yours, if Carey, yourself, and Ward had not been providentially in the way. You ask for *forty* missionaries; I ask for *five* such as yourselves. I deprecate an influx of unlearned missionaries, who would make good itinerating missionaries at home, but will never strike a stroke here. You have a host of such already. Believe me that I wish you all prosperity in the Lord, and can truly say, ‘Give me a place at thy saints’ feet.’—Your affectionate friend and servant, D. B.”

However unpalatable the truth, it ought not to be overlooked, that there are few situations in which the realisation of hopes has been so uncertain as in the appointment of missionaries to the heathen. If the expression be not profane, it appears to partake of the

chances of a lottery. It is not possible for the most conscientious and discerning committee in England to foresee how missionaries, who may have been selected apparently with much judgment and prudence, will turn out when they enter on the field of labour abroad. With the best disposition to render themselves useful, they may possess no natural aptitude for labours of so peculiar a character, and continue to be amiable, pious, and expensive drones for many years; or they may be pining for the solace of those religious associations which they enjoyed in England, and thus become gloomy and valueless; or, a weak frame may disqualify them for active duties and depress their spirits; or an undue preponderance of the domestic affections may give an unmissionary cast to the feelings, and concentrate every sympathy on their own family circle; or there may be a want of that spring of elasticity which a work subject to such various disappointments requires. Whenever, from any of these causes, a missionary finds that he cannot throw his whole soul into the work, and that he remains in it because it is his profession, it is better for him at once to retire from the field and betake himself to pastoral duties at home. In such cases a missionary Society, far from regretting the funds lost in the outfit and voyage of one who thus proves to be a missionary failure, and returns to England, ought rather to congratulate itself on the larger funds which are prospectively saved by this early separation. It was in the contemplation of such disappointments that Mr. Ward wrote to Mr. Fuller, "In our work, half the Dissenting ministers in England, who merely preach twice or thrice a week, when people come to hear the Word, would be of little use. A man who shall do good here must be on his legs, or in the saddle, or in his boat. In the hands of a mere domesticated man, who prays at home, but never goes out into the highways and ditches, things die a natural death. Men must go out a fishing; the fish will never leave their natural element and walk into their nets, and

they must be patient too, though they toil all night and catch nothing."

During the present year the Church at Serampore returned to the practice of strict communion, after having, for four years, adopted the opposite rule of admitting to their communion those Christian and missionary brethren who did not coincide in their views of the ordinance of baptism. The chief agent in this movement was Mr. Marshman. Mr. Fuller, a staunch strict-communionist, had for some time engaged in a controversial correspondence with Mr. Ward on this question. Mr. Ward brought it to a close by stating that he was not convinced by his reasoning, and that, in his judgment, men might fall into mistakes regarding not only common commands, but "positive institutions," and yet not incur a forfeiture of the right of communion: but he thought the matter one of very small moment compared with the great work of evangelising the heathen. Mr. Marshman, however, appears to have been convinced by Mr. Fuller's arguments, and transmitted his own views on the subject in a very elaborate epistle. But he hesitated long to bring the question forward in a practical shape, lest he should wound the feelings of his affectionate colleague. At length he communicated his thoughts to Mr. Ward by letter, and proposed that the Church at Serampore should resume its former principle on the subject of communion, stating that he was willing to take on himself the responsibility and the odium of announcing this change of practice to those who had hitherto communed with them. On the spur of the moment, Mr. Ward replied that he would rather die than go into such a measure. Dr. Carey's mind was not free from doubt; but he thought strict communion the "safer" side. The other missionaries at Serampore were disposed to coincide with him and Mr. Marshman; and Mr. Ward, with his habitual sweetness of disposition, said he should offer no further opposition, and make no attempt to divide the

Church at Serampore returns to Strict Communion.

Church; only he wished it to be distinctly known to all whom the decision might affect, that the change was not made with his consent. In recording the event in his own journal, he remarked: "Mr. Pritchett,"—the Independent missionary formerly alluded to,—“preached in the morning; after which Brother Marshman interdicted him the Lord’s table.” But this wide and irreconcilable difference of opinion was never suffered to produce the slightest alienation of feeling, or to interrupt the harmony of their co-operation. This was, moreover, the only question on which any feeling of discordance ever arose between the missionaries at Serampore and the two leading members of the Committee in England. Mr. Fuller and Dr. Ryland held very strong and opposite opinions on this subject, and it was difficult for their friends at Serampore to steer between the Scylla and Charybdis of strict and open communion. When they went into the practice of open communion, Mr. Fuller upbraided them with their disregard of a “positive ordinance;” but his language, though earnest, was always kind and dignified. But when the church returned to the rule of strict communion, Dr. Ryland was exasperated beyond measure, and gave vent to his indignation in the strongest language, upbraiding Mr. Marshman, sometimes in doggerel verses, with having set up a “Baptist caste.” Some of his remarks wind up with a dozen notes of admiration. It is a lamentable token of the weakness of human nature, that a question of such comparative insignificance should have been allowed to embitter the intercourse of men engaged in a great work sufficient to absorb every inferior thought.

The prejudices of the eight junior missionaries against the three seniors, at this period, rendered the management of the mission a task of no ordinary difficulty. Now that the remonstrants and the accused have all passed from the scene, and we are enabled to examine these transactions in the impartial spirit of history, apart from the mists of passion or pre-

Differences
between the
senior and junior
Missionaries.

judice, concessions may be freely made which, during the heat of controversy, might have been considered injudicious, as affording an undue triumph to opponents. There can be no doubt, that the economy which was then considered essential to the prosecution of the mission was erroneous in principle and objectionable in practice, and that it generated hostility more than it promoted efficiency. The senior missionaries started with a constitution of the most democratic character, and introduced into their system a principle of the most perilous equality. The mission, assaulted from without by the hostility of Government, was perhaps still more endangered by intestine faction and discord. Dr. Ryland reprobated the system with unmitigated severity, and Mr. Fuller put an end to it by peremptorily appointing Dr. Carey, Mr. Marshman, and Mr. Ward directors of the mission for life. But those who had been accustomed to the license of freedom in the little republic at Serampore, could ill brook the subordination under which they were placed. There is reason to fear that the authority thus vested in the senior missionaries was sometimes exercised with no inconsiderable sternness. The principle of rigorous economy, which they adopted themselves and enforced on others, was felt to be insupportably irksome, and they often exposed themselves to the imputation of great unkindness. The restraints imposed on the juniors were unnatural and irritating, and they gave vent to their embittered feelings in complaints loud and deep, and not always unfounded. To soften these asperities, the senior missionaries made the brethren at the out-stations independent of them in all pecuniary matters, and rendered them accountable immediately to the Society. But there were too many points of friction still left to remove all cause of asperity of feeling, and remonstrances were made, though with decreasing vigour, down to the period when, on the death of Mr. Fuller, the Serampore missionaries were enabled to resign the invidious office which he had forced on them.

These differences between the juniors and the seniors were aggravated by tempers which in some cases were impracticable, and in one instance absolutely ungovernable. Indeed some of the charges brought against the Serampore missionaries, in the warmth of exasperation, were so atrocious as to carry with them their own refutation. But there is the evidence of the last survivor of the eight missionaries, that it was "the discipline under which they were placed which was felt to be so painful," and "that in proportion as that discipline was relaxed their complaints were removed, while they still loved the Serampore missionaries as brethren, and respected them as their seniors." He has left on record that it was never the aim of the seniors to render their juniors miserable, but that they had from inexperience adopted a vicious system, which they gradually abandoned, as experience opened their eyes to its evils, and that all those who had remonstrated against the effects of the system, even in the most virulent language, maintained the most friendly intercourse with their Serampore brethren, after it had been corrected.

Although the immediate management of those pecuniary affairs which brought the junior missionaries into unpleasant contact with their senior brethren, devolved on Mr. Ward, yet the spirit of hostility appears to have been somewhat arbitrarily

Dr. Carey's estimate of Mr. Marshman's character.

directed against Mr. Marshman, and numerous were the complaints which were made in letters to Mr. Fuller, who was at length compelled to allude to the subject in one of his communications to Dr. Carey. It was in reference to these sinister representations that Dr. Carey felt himself bound to undertake the defence of his friend, who was not aware of the existence of his letter till he accidentally discovered it in England fifteen years after it had been written. It is interesting as affording a view of Mr. Marshman's character by one who was in the habit of daily and confidential intercourse with him. "I do not know that the junior brethren have any settled prejudice

against him, yet a suspicion against him is, I must confess, soon excited. I believe his natural make is the occasion of it. He is a man whose whole heart is in the mission, and who may be considered as the soul and life of it. He is ardent, nay sanguine, exceedingly tenacious of any idea which strikes him as right or important. His labours are excessive, his body scarcely susceptible of fatigue, his religious feelings strong, his jealousy for God great; his regard for the feelings of others very little when the cause of God is in question. His memory is uncommonly retentive; his reading has been and still is extensive and general; in short, his activity reproaches the indolence of some, his acquirements reproach their ignorance, and his unaccommodating mind frequently excites sentiments of resentment and dislike. He has also, perhaps, the foible of dragging himself and his children more into public observation than is desirable. These things, I suppose, lie at the bottom of all the dislike which our younger brethren have felt for him. For my own part I consider him as a man whose value in the mission can scarcely be sufficiently appreciated, and his death would be a serious loss to the undertaking." At this time, Mr. and Mrs. Marshman were in the receipt of a clear income of 2000*l.* a year from the school, of which they reserved only about 100*l.* for the contingent expenses of the family, and threw the remainder into the general funds of the mission, dining at one common table with the other missionaries. But while he and his two brethren, who were equally in a position of independence, exhibited such self-denial in the prosecution of the missionary cause, they were not insensible to the claims of filial affection. In the course of the year, Mr. Marshman wrote to Mr.

Mr. Marshman's father. Fuller, "I am commissioned by my brethren to state that, while thus devoting themselves and all their resources to the cause of missions, they consider it a duty still incumbent on them to provide for their own aged or infirm relatives at home. We do not

consider it robbing the cause of God, if from the surplus of our labours we devote a sum, to be settled by mutual consent here, to the relief and comfort of those who gave us life, and we beg you will deduct these sums from the remittances you send out either for the mission or the translations, and we will make it good to those funds. To my honoured father, who, before this can reach you, will have reached his seventy-third year, and to my beloved mother who will have reached her seventy-ninth year, we wish you to pay fifty pounds a year. After so long a career of the most laborious and spirited exertions to rear his family with honour to religion, and to discharge the duties incumbent on him as a member of society, and a deacon of the Church of Christ, it is my desire that he should cease from his labours, and pass the few days he will have to sojourn here below in a state of ease. I think this is no more than an act of justice on my part, for if I have anything of industry, I owe it to his example and wise counsels, with whom I spent the first twenty-five years of my life."

Mr. Marshman's literary labours had attracted much attention in America, and in the month of June he was honoured with the diploma of Doctor of Divinity from Brown University. But the literary achievements which had obtained for the senior

Mr. Marshman
receives a Doc-
tor's Diploma.

missionaries this distinguished recognition, were entirely subservient to the missionary exertions in which they were engaged. They regarded it as the duty of a missionary to obtain as complete a knowledge as possible of the language and the religious institutions, the literature, and the philosophy of the people among whom he laboured, and to leave a record of his acquisitions, through the medium of the press, for the benefit of his successors. They considered that every contribution to this store of knowledge was an additional facility for the prosecution of missionary labours, and they were anxious that these researches should go hand-in-hand with the communication

of secular and divine truth to the people." They therefore inculcated on every missionary the necessity of cultivating the literature of the country in which he resided, as far as it could be effected without relaxing his efforts to communicate the Gospel to the people. This precept was enforced by their own example. Mr. Ward, amidst all his missionary labours, was still able to create time for compiling his work on the history, literature, and religion of the Hindoos, to which allusion has already been made. Dr. Marshman's attention had been given more particularly to the Chinese, and while he was employed in the translation of the Scriptures, he bestowed on his own countrymen the first translation of the works of the great Chinese sage, and the only treatise which had then appeared on the structure of the Chinese language. In conjunction with Dr. Carey, he had also published three volumes of the Ramayun. Dr. Carey had given the world grammars of the Bengalee, the Sanscrit, and the Mahratta languages, and was carrying grammars of the Telinga and Punjabee throughout the press. He had likewise made considerable progress in the compilation of an Orissa grammar. He had also commenced the printing of a Bengalee dictionary, which eventually extended to three quarto volumes, and he had been for some time collecting materials for a Universal Dictionary of the Oriental languages derived from the Sanscrit, with the corresponding words in Greek and Hebrew. He had likewise finished at press a dictionary of the Mahratta language. All these labours were undertaken, not from any thirst of literary distinction, but from a conscientious desire to accomplish the duties which he and his colleagues identified with their position as the pioneers of the mission.

It has been stated in a previous page, that Mr. Aratoon was placed in charge of the mission station in Jessore. He was complete master of the vernacular tongue, and indefatigable in his pious exertions; at the same time he was endeared to the people by the extraordinary amenity

of his disposition. His success far exceeded the expectations of the Serampore missionaries; and Jessore appeared, next to Serampore, the most prosperous and promising of the stations. The church, which was small in numbers, was increased in 1809, to twenty-nine. In 1810, Mr. Aratoon baptized thirty-two, of whom fourteen were Mahomedans and eighteen Hindoos. He adopted the plan of administering the sacrament monthly in the four villages in which his flock resided. The poorer members were thus relieved from the expense and inconvenience of a monthly visit to the chief station, and the missionary was laid under the necessity of itinerating through the district. Four of the more able of the converts were appointed to reside in these villages, to watch over the Christian members of the church, and to collect and instruct inquirers. His success in 1811 was not equal to that of preceding years, and circumstances having arisen to render his removal to some other station advisable, Mr. Petruse, another member of the church in Calcutta, was selected to succeed him. He was well versed in the language, but was wanting in that indefatigable perseverance which had rendered his predecessor's efforts so successful, and the mission drooped in his hands. Mr. Aratoon himself was sent to Bombay, to establish a mission in the Mahratta country, and promote the distribution of the New Testament in that language. The extension of the mission to this new sphere of labour at another Presidency arose from Dr. Carey's importunate desire to occupy a country, as soon as the New Testament was completed in its language. Whatever may be said of the wisdom of the plan, the selection of Mr. Aratoon was injudicious. His intimate knowledge of Bengalee was lost in a province in which it was not spoken; and though he ultimately returned to labour in Bengal, it was not till after several years of his valuable life had been comparatively wasted.

Towards the close of 1811 and the beginning of 1812, the Missionary circle was visited with the severest do-

mestic afflictions. Dr. Carey had been bereaved of his grandson; Mr. Robinson of his wife and two children; and Mr. Chamberlain of all his children. Mr. Chater, Mr. Ward, and Dr. Marshman had each

The Printing-Office is consumed by fire.

been deprived of a child; and Mr. Fernandez had buried his wife. To these heavy family afflictions was now added a deeper calamity, which at once suspended the labours of the Serampore missionaries, and put their zeal and perseverance to the severest test. During the night of the 11th of March, the printing office at Serampore was totally consumed by fire, and the labour of twelve years destroyed in a few hours. The office was about a hundred feet in length, and forty-five in breadth. At the entrance on the north were two rooms which Mr. Ward had used as a counting-house, and which contained all the papers and the accounts of the mission from its establishment. The southern rooms were filled with stores of paper and material; the intermediate space contained the cases and types, and a side room, more recently erected, the presses. The office was more extensively stocked at this time than it had been at any former period. It contained fourteen founts in the eastern languages, a large assortment of types lately received from England, and more than twelve hundred reams of paper. The fire was discovered about six o'clock in the evening, at the southern extremity of the building, which was quickly filled with a dense smoke, rendered the more suffocating from the lowness of the roof. A fire-engine was unknown in India; an attempt was therefore made to stifle the flames by closing all the doors and windows, and the roof was simultaneously opened over the seat of the fire in the hope of extinguishing it by a discharge of water from above. After the lapse of four hours, however, during which these efforts appeared to give some hope of success, an injudicious friend opened one of the windows, with the view of saving some portion of the property, but the current of air thus introduced speedily

set the building in a blaze. The entire destruction of the office now appeared inevitable, and Mr. Ward hastened to rescue the deeds of the premises and the records and accounts of the Mission from the counting-house, in which he was partially successful. By eleven at night the flames had burst forth at every window, and at midnight the roof fell in with a crash, and a steady column of fire rose to the sky, like the flame of a candle. After the conflagration was complete, the members of the mission family seated themselves in front of this scene of desolation, contemplating it with feelings of deep solemnity, but without a murmur or a desponding look. "A solemn serenity," as Dr. Marshman wrote, "seemed to fill and strengthen every heart." The value of the property destroyed was estimated at 7000*l.*; but the loss of so many copies of the Scriptures, and of valuable manuscripts, far outweighed that of the money. The manuscript of the translation of the Ramayun was entirely destroyed, and the work was never resumed. The materials for the Polyglot Dictionary, and the rough copy of the Telinga grammar, as well as of all the versions in the press, perished. But the printing-presses in the side room were happily preserved.

Early the next morning Dr. Marshman went down to Calcutta to communicate the dismal tidings to Dr. Carey, who was so staggered by the blow as to be unable for some time to utter a word. He and his colleague then called on Mr. Thomason, who burst into tears at the intelligence. They returned to Serampore in the evening, and found, to their inexpressible delight, that Mr. Ward who had been employed in clearing the wreck near the spot where the punches and matrices had been deposited, had succeeded in discovering them uninjured. If these invaluable articles, which had been ten years in preparation, had been so far defaced by the fire as to be unserviceable, the labours of the missionaries must have been crippled for a long period. On the discovery of the punches and

matrices, every feeling of despondency vanished from Mr. Ward's mind, and he contemplated with exultation the immediate renewal of their labours. A building on the premises, near the bank of the river, more spacious than that which was consumed, had been rented to a mercantile firm in Calcutta for several years, and vacated by them only in the previous month. When the three missionaries met the next morning to discuss their future course of proceeding, they resolved to occupy it as their future printing-office.

Restoration of
the office, and
resumption of
labour.

While the natives in their employ, and in the town and neighbourhood, despaired of the resumption of labour, the minds of the missionaries themselves were filled with confidence. The workmen were called and paid up to the day, and dismissed to their homes for a month; and Mr. Ward assured them, with a cheerful countenance, that the office would be again at work at the end of thirty days. The pundits were set to the work of translation; and the melted metal, which had been collected to the extent of more than four tons, was made over to the type casters. Their number was augmented, and they were told off in relays, and worked night and day with such diligence, that at the end of thirty days the missionaries were enabled to begin two editions of the New Testament, the Tamul and the Hindoostanee. Before the end of April, in less than six weeks from the night of the calamity, the Orissa, the Sikh, and the Bengalee founts had been completed, and within a few months the press was in full operation, and all the works which were in progress before the fire, were recommenced before the close of the year. In writing to Mr. Fuller in the following year, Dr. Carey remarked that at the end of twelve months the office was in a more efficient state than at any former period, that the new translations were superior to those which had been destroyed, and that the labour of executing them afresh was not greater than would have been entailed by the revision of the former manuscripts. Even

the rewriting of the grammars, though by no means an agreeable task, had been useful in their improvement, and not less in enlarging Dr. Carey's acquaintance with the languages.

The Christian sympathy of their friends in India on the occasion of this great catastrophe, showed the estimation in which the labours of the missionaries were held. Their cordial and generous friend, Mr. ^{Sympathy of friends in India.} Thomason, of his own impulse set on foot a subscription for their immediate aid among the members of his own congregation, and in a day or two raised 800*l.*, of which he himself, from an income comparatively limited, and encumbered with other claims, contributed 40*l.* Six other Christian friends gave 50*l.* each, and among them was the son of Major Scott Waring, who had assailed the missionaries with acrimony five years before. Mr. Brown, though suffering from an acute disease which soon after terminated his life, dictated a letter of condolence from his couch in the most affectionate terms, and urged the missionaries to draw on the Bible Society in London for the sums which had been voted prospectively for three years; but while they returned him their cordial thanks for this token of kindness, they expressed a strong hope of being able to retrieve their loss, and to resume their labours without such an encroachment on the liberality of that body. From men of every rank and of every class, without distinction of creed or sect, they received the warmest expressions of sympathy, and the most generous offers of assistance. Throughout the community in India the calamity was considered a public one. The efforts made in England to repair the loss and place the printing establishment on its former footing of efficiency, ^{Efforts to repair the loss in England.} presented a gratifying example of Christian benevolence. "Your letter," says Mr. Fuller, "with an account of the fire, reached England on the 9th of September," (it was more than six months on the voyage,) "when I was at Norwich, and was printed and widely circulated by Dr.

Ryland, before I knew of it. On my return, calling at my daughters' at Newmarket, I heard of the disaster. When the news reached Norwich, the day after I left it; though they had collected 200*l.* for me, they added 500*l.* for the fire. I spent the Lord's day at Cambridge, and about 165*l.* more were collected towards the loss. The Bible Society voted 2000 reams of paper to cover the loss in that article, be the loss whose it might. The London Missionary Society voted 100*l.*, and the Editors of the 'Evangelical Magazine,' 50*l.* On the 4th of October I preached at Northampton, where 170*l.* were collected. We have had a collection at Kettering of 160*l.* Subscriptions are opened at London, Bristol, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, Hull, Leeds, Bradford, Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other places. I have received between 600*l.* and 700*l.* The London subscription cannot be less than 1000*l.* Edinburgh (in addition to 200*l.* sent me from the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which supported Brainerd,) is 1000*l.* Of the fruits of Glasgow I have not heard. In Greenock, a western sea-port of Scotland, containing 30,000 inhabitants, I hear they collected for us in all their places of worship on the Lord's day. Leeds amounted to 300*l.*, Bradford to 100*l.*, Bristol between 300*l.* and 400*l.*, Leicester 200*l.* or 300*l.*" The whole of the loss was made up in sixty days. Within two months after hearing of the disaster, Mr. Fuller received the sheets of the New Testament printed from the re-cast types, and he cut them into slips and sent them to the various places which had so liberally poured in their contributions, designating them the "feathers of the phoenix." In his letter to the missionaries, he said that the rapidity with which they had been enabled to repair the loss of their types and begin their labours anew, appeared to be as remarkable as if the pecuniary loss had been made up in a week. "This fire has given your undertaking a celebrity which nothing else it seems could; a celebrity which after all makes me

tremble. I see the eagerness of men after this celebrity passing all bounds, and we are men. I see great undertakings blasted apparently by this cause. Ought we not to tremble? The public is now giving us their praises. Eight hundred guineas have been offered for Dr. Carey's likeness. If we inhale this incense, will not the Lord be offended, and withdraw his blessing, and then where are we? Ought we not to tremble? Surely we need more grace to go through good report than evil. I have less jealousy of you than of ourselves, but we are all in danger. When you pitched your tents at Serampore, you said, We will not accumulate riches, but devote all to God for the salvation of the heathen. God has given you what you desired, and what you desired not. Blessed men, God will yet bless you, and make you a blessing. I and others of us may die, but God will surely visit you. Only beware of flattery and applause, for now you may expect a tide of this to try you. You have stood your ground through evil report; may you stand it under good report. Many who have endured the first have failed under the last. The icy mountain that can stand the winter's blast may melt before the summer's sun. Expect to be highly applauded, bitterly reproached, greatly moved, and much tried in every way. Oh, that having done all, you may stand!"

Mr. Fuller's remarks.

The trials were nearer than the applause. Dr. Carey and his two colleagues had scarcely recovered from the blow inflicted on their labours by the fire, when they found the opposition of Government in Calcutta to the missionary enterprise kindled again with redoubled fierceness. The period in which missionaries were to be "tolerated like toads" had expired, and the period in which they were to be "hunted like wild beasts" was come round again. The intermediate period of repose was brief, and scarcely extended over two years. It was on the 20th of October, 1810, that Lord Minto assured Dr. Marshman that there would be no objection on the

Revival of the opposition of Government.

part of Government, to the establishment of a mission at Agra, and it was on the 17th of June, 1812, that the Government again took the field against missions, and pursued the missionaries with a degree of rancour and virulence of which there had been no previous example. Since Queen Elizabeth gave the Company their first charter, more than two centuries before. On that day the Supreme Council passed an order for the expulsion of two missionaries from the country, and in the course of a few months extended it to all the missionaries brought under notice — the Serampore missionaries themselves excepted — till the number under sentence of banishment amounted to eight. The transactions connected with this the last and the most violent persecution, were spread over a period of ten months, and will require to be narrated without interruption; it appears desirable, therefore, before entering on them, to dispose of the other less prominent events of the year.

On the 23rd of May, Mr. Mardon, who had laboured for several years at Goamalty with much assiduity and some success, retired to rest in apparent health, but was a corpse before morning. Although the name of the cholera, as the mysterious scourge of the nineteenth century, was then unknown in India, and that disease had not as yet become the object of universal dread, there was little doubt, from the diagnosis of the disease to which Mr. Mardon fell a victim, that it was a case of Asiatic cholera, of the most virulent type. He was a man of great simplicity of character, and of amiable temper, warmly devoted to the cause of missions, but devoid of all mental and physical energy. His place was filled by Mr. Da Cruz, of Portuguese extraction, a member of the church in the Bow Bazar in Calcutta, which had become the nursery of the mission. It may be useful to remark in this place, that the missionary labourers raised up in India were engaged without consulting the Committee in England, for which, indeed, there was no time,

Death of Mr.
Mardon.

when more than a twelvemonth ordinarily elapsed between the despatch of a letter, and the arrival of a reply. The Serampore missionaries, therefore, took the entire expense, as well as responsibility of these appointments, on themselves; but the report of their labours was published exclusively through the Society, and contributed in no small degree to sustain its funds, and to keep up the interest of the cause at home. Though the cost of re-establishing the printing-office, which fell entirely on the funds of Dr. Carey and his colleagues until assistance was received from England more than a twelvemonth after, severely taxed their resources, they did not hesitate to encounter the additional expense of engaging the services of any young man of zeal and piety, who appeared likely to be useful in the missionary field. At the close of the year in which the office was consumed, they had six such missionary labourers dependent on their funds, besides Mr. Leonard, in himself a host, and the mainstay of the cause in Calcutta, who was supported from the funds of the Benevolent Institution. The great exertions thus made by the missionaries were gratefully acknowledged by the Society in an address published during this year in England. "The annual expenditure of this mission at home and abroad, exclusive of translations, amounts at present to five or six thousand pounds. It has not cost the public, however, on an average, during the twenty years of its continuance, more than two thousand pounds per annum, and out of this there are buildings and other accommodation for the mission of the value of six or eight thousand pounds, which remain the property of the Society. It is owing, doubtless, to the unexampled contributions of the Serampore missionaries that things have hitherto been thus conducted. This, however, will not be considered by the friends of the undertaking as rendering their exertions less necessary." Among those who were thus engaged

Missionaries
raised up in
India.

Mr. Fuller's ac-
knowledgegment of
the liberality of
the Serampore
Missionaries.

by the Serampore missionaries, was a young man of the name of Thompson, an assistant in one of the public offices in Calcutta, who had recently joined the church, and manifested great ardour and aptitude for missionary labour. He possessed an extraordinary command of the colloquial tongues of Bengal and Hindoostan, and he had for some time cultivated his religious gifts in various services from house to house in Calcutta. Dr. Carey and his brethren determined to take him on their own missionary establishment, and sent him in the first instance to Patna, the populous and opulent Mahomedan capital of Behar, where the graceful fluency of his address rendered his labours very acceptable with all classes of society. Circumstances to which we shall presently allude, having constrained Mr. Chamberlain to leave Agra, Mr. Mackintosh, an East Indian, was sent to assist Mr. Peacock, and Mr. De Bruyn, a young man of great energy and promise, was sent to establish a station at Chittagong.

The mission at Rangoon had been weakened by the determination of Mr. Chater to relinquish it. He entered upon his work with much zeal, and had so far mastered the language as to be able to superintend the printing of several tracts. But the repugnance to the presence of foreign females, which has always been manifested by the Chinese and the Indo-Chinese governments, had created some discussions regarding Mrs. Chater's residence in Rangoon. There was, moreover, no female society to be found in the town congenial to her habits, and her husband, owing to her objection to this exile from her usual associations, was constrained to seek some other station. The Serampore missionaries had received great encouragement to establish a mission in Ceylon, from the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Twisleton, the senior chaplain on the island, and they now advised Mr. Chater to select Columbo as the scene of his future labours. He acceded to their wishes, and soon after proceeded to

Engagement of
Mr. Thompson.

Rangoon
Mission.

Ceylon, where he laid the foundation of an interesting and successful mission. Mr. Felix Carey, who was thus left without the support of a companion, was soon after exposed to unexpected difficulties, and brought within the circle of temptations which eventually compromised his missionary usefulness, not less than his personal reputation. Discussions had arisen between the British Government and the arrogant officers of the king of Ava, which Captain Canning was sent with two vessels of war to adjust. The Burmese Governor of Rangoon called on Mr. Carey to act as interpreter; he refused to comply with the request, and as the Burmese authorities were disposed to resort to force, he took refuge on one of the British ships. A suspicion was thus raised of his being an English spy, and the local authorities, under the pretence that he had become a Burmese subject, demanded that he should be given up; but Captain Canning refused to surrender him, and he remained on board for nearly two months. The political differences were at length adjusted, and the Burmese entered into a written engagement not to molest Mr. Carey, and permitted him to return to the town, where he resumed his missionary labours. But the local authorities again pressed him to accept the office of interpreter, and to act in that capacity on any future emergency. He referred the question to Serampore, and was advised to conciliate the Burmese Government by placing his services at its disposal. In October of the present year, he came round to Serampore to print his version of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and also the grammar of the Burmese language he had compiled, and which, though invidiously disparaged by some who have benefited by his labours, has been considered by other, and perhaps equally competent judges, to evince a very correct knowledge of the language he had been studying for five years. After these works were completed the Serampore missionaries determined to transfer the press to Rangoon; and Mr. Carey took it back with him. At the same time,

a letter was addressed by them to the king of Ava, recommending to the especial protection of his majesty, "their beloved brethren, who from love to his majesty's subjects had voluntarily gone to place themselves under his protection, while they translated the Bible, the book of Heaven, which was received and revered as such in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Russia, and America, and various other countries, as the source from whence all their knowledge of virtue and religion was drawn." They then alluded to the press which they had sent to his dominions, stating that the laws of England were printed at such a press, so that every public officer had the same regulations to direct him in the administration of justice. This communication created such interest in the royal palace at Ava, as to induce the king to order a printing-press, with all its materials, and a complement of workmen, to be sent from Serampore to his own capital, and the Burmese envoy who was about to proceed to Calcutta was directed to take charge of it. The press was prepared with the greatest alacrity, and the missionaries indulged the hope that it might lead to the establishment of a mission at Ava, but the vessel in which it was embarked sunk in the Rangoon river, and circumstances which subsequently arose in Burmah prevented its being replaced. To supply Mr. Felix Carey with a missionary associate, Mr. Norman Kerr, an East Indian youth of fair abilities, was drawn from the church in Calcutta; but he had no strength of character, and, after an experimental residence of a twelve-month in Rangoon, returned to Calcutta, and was advised to return to secular employment.

Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Peacock had commenced the mission at Agra at the beginning of 1811, with the approbation of Government, but with the distinct understanding that they should in every thing conform to its orders. Mr. Chamberlain entered on the work with his wonted ardour, and, finding that the

Bruij-Bhasa, which was current in the district round the city, was a distinct dialect rather than a mere provincial variety of the Hindee, began a translation of the Gospels in it. The missionary establishment at Agra, to which Dr. Carey and his associates looked for the improvement of more than one version, continued for some time to afford every prospect of success; but before it had been eighteen months in existence, Mr. Chamberlain's unmanageable temper led to his sudden and compulsory removal. If his mind had been disciplined with any touch of judgment or prudence, his spirit of energy, combined with the strength of his constitution, might have led to important results; but he was never able to exercise any control over himself, and his life was a constant succession of disputes and difficulties. He had obtained access to the European soldiers in the Fort at Agra, among whom he always delighted to minister, and to whom his rough and ready addresses were peculiarly acceptable. One of the soldiers was baptized by immersion; Colonel Bowie, the commandant, took offence, and interdicted Mr. Chamberlain's visits to the Fort. He sought an explanation, and was informed that he was at liberty to visit his personal friends, but that he must obtain a pass from the staff-officer on each occasion. This led to an angry correspondence, and Mr. Chamberlain was drawn on to set the military authorities at defiance, and to claim it as a right to give religious instruction to the soldiers who desired his ministrations. At the present day when the principles of religious liberty are in full operation in the army as well as in society in general, such a request would be granted as a matter of course, and any officer who might venture to oppose it would incur the serious displeasure of Horse Guards. But before the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the Catholic Emancipation Bill, the Nonconformist and Roman Catholic soldiers were too frequently subjected to the most unjust restrictions, and their religious feelings were often treated

with contempt from the wanton caprice of bigotry, though always under the pretext of military discipline. Military officers exercised an arbitrary and almost irresponsible power, and Government was obliged, when any such question was referred to its decision, either to support or to remove them, and the former was always felt to involve less trouble than the latter. Colonel Bowie reported the matter to the Government in Calcutta; the public records were searched, and it was discovered that a similar complaint of resistance to the constituted authorities had been reported against Mr. Chamberlain at Berhampore some years before, and he was forthwith ordered back to the Presidency. When the question came before his brethren at Serampore, they severely censured his imprudence, and Dr. Carey was desired to write to him: "Your wish," he said, "to communicate the Gospel to all who desire to hear it, is right, but in our circumstances it is the height of imprudence to set ourselves in opposition to, or to refuse to obey, the orders of those in authority, and we think that all attempts to get among the military, except under peculiar circumstances, are wrong, on several accounts: in the first place, our work lies among the heathen, who should, therefore, have the first place in our labours and undertakings; in the next place, scarcely anything will excite the jealousy of Government so much as attempts to get among the military; and, thirdly, military officers are absolute when they are entrusted with any charge, and Government *must* support them. We cannot appear in this business, for we promised Government on a former occasion that you should give them no further cause of complaint. They will immediately say, You have no control over Mr. Chamberlain, and, therefore, your engagements stand for nothing. We, therefore, see no method which presents the most distant hope that you will be permitted to remain at Agra, unless an unqualified promise to Colonel Bowie, that you will no more attempt to enter the Fort,

or in any way resist his orders, may induce him to write to Government in your favour." No such concession was to be obtained from Mr. Chamberlain, and he was obliged to quit Agra. At Serampore the most judicious silence was maintained regarding the cause of his removal, and the record of the event in the "Circular Letters" simply stated that "Brother and Sister Chamberlain arrived at Serampore on the 4th of October, in excellent health."

On the 14th of June of the present year the Rev. David Brown expired in Calcutta, at the comparatively early age of forty-nine, within six months of the death of his friend and associate in evangelical labours, ^{Death of Mr. Brown.} Henry Martyn. Mr. Brown had resided twenty-six years in India, and was the chief instrument, under God, of introducing a regard for religion in the upper class of society in Calcutta. When he arrived in India, a few of the leading men in the metropolis patronised the Sabbath by a cold and official attendance on divine service; but there was no vital feeling of religion, except in the very limited circle of his own personal friends. At the time of his death a numerous and highly respectable congregation, which had been formed by his labours, crowded the Mission Church to attend the ministrations of Mr. Thomason, to whom he had bequeathed its ministerial duties. Of his cordial and almost fraternal co-operation with the Serampore missionaries, after he had taken up his abode in the town, ample evidence has been given in the preceding pages. That friendship was interrupted by the unhappy scheme of the Propaganda, and although harmony was restored by Mr. Thomason's friendly exertions, there seemed still to be wanting that entire confidence which banishes all reserve. But every unpleasant remembrance was removed before his decease. He was attacked by a disease which laid him on his couch for several months, during which he received the most cordial sympathy from his friends at the Mission House. On hearing of the fire, which at first threatened to extinguish their labours, he

dictated several letters to them from his bed of sickness, in one of which he exhorted Dr. Marshman and his brethren not to be dismayed by the greatness of the disaster, but to raise their minds to a level with the new exigency which had arisen. The fire appeared to affect him more deeply than it had done the missionaries themselves; and it is grateful to reflect that the last communication which passed between them was written in that spirit of affectionate intercourse which had existed before the intrusion of Mr. Buchanan's plans. Dr. Marshman preached a funeral sermon on the occasion of his death in Calcutta from the text, "Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find watching."

Three days after the death of Mr. Brown, the last struggle between the Government of India and the principle of Christian missions commenced. The first victims were the late Dr. Judson, the apostle of Burmah, and his companion Mr. Newell, who landed in Calcutta from America on the 17th of June. This was the first attempt made by the United States to establish a mission to the East, and is therefore invested with that peculiar interest which belongs to the infancy of undertakings which subsequently rise into importance. During the preceding ten years some of the churches in America had been gradually prepared to take a share in the missionary enterprise in the eastern hemisphere. Captain Wickes, who conveyed Dr. Marshman and his associates to India in the "Criterion" in 1799, carried back to America a pleasing account of the missionary establishment at Serampore, and may be said to have planted the seeds of that interest in foreign missions in his native state, Pennsylvania, which has since produced so luxuriant a harvest.

Mr. Robert Ralston's exertions for the mission in America.

A correspondence was immediately opened with the Serampore missionaries by Mr. Robert Ralston, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, which was continued for more than thirty-five years with unabated cordiality, and terminated only with the death

of the last of their number. To him belongs the distinction of being the first layman in America who took an interest in the promotion of missions to the East, at a time when no efforts had been made on the continent of America except for the benefit of its Indian tribes; and his name deserves to be commemorated with honour in the history of American foreign missions. The Rev. Dr. Staughton, who had been associated with Mr. Fuller in the establishment of the Baptist mission in England in 1792, did not forget the cause on his emigration to Philadelphia. He was personally acquainted with Dr. Carey, and maintained a regular correspondence with him in India, under the influence of which he endeavoured to create a spirit of missionary zeal in the country of his adoption. When the prospectus of the Oriental translations reached America, a subscription was raised to the amount of 700*l.*, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Ralston, himself a Presbyterian. The successive arrival of the missionaries of the Baptist Society, on their way to India, served to extend and deepen the interest which had been excited in the cause in America, and afforded another illustration of that Divine agency by which the "wrath of man is turned to the glory of God." It was the stern opposition of the Court of Directors to the missionary cause which constrained nine missionaries to seek access to India by way of America between 1802 and 1812. Their temporary sojourn there contributed to excite a spirit of missionary emulation, and thus the restrictions laid on the resort of English missionaries to India by the home Government became, indirectly, the instrument of opening up another and a larger source of supply of labourers for the missionary field.

The first direct attempt, however, which was made in America to establish missions in the East, originated in the Congregational, and not in the Baptist denomination. It commenced with a small body of enthusiastic students in the theological seminary at An-

Commencement
of Indian Mission
in America.

doover, of whom Adoniram Judson was the most ardent and distinguished. His attention was first drawn to the subject of missions by the perusal of Mr. Buchanan's "Star in the East," to which allusion has been already made, and which kindled in his youthful imagination the romantic idea of a mission of Christian benevolence to heathen and barbarous tribes. That which was, perhaps, at first only the vague impulse of enthusiasm, soon assumed a more substantive form, and became the governing principle of his actions. He imbibed what his biographer has aptly termed a "passion for missions," and it became the absorbing object of his desire to find some opportunity of proceeding as a missionary to some heathen land. It was through the influence of Judson and his associates at Andover, that the first practical effort was made to establish a missionary society for the eastern hemisphere. On the 29th of June, 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was established at Bradford, Connecticut. The Board was, at first, little more than the centre to which the missionary feelings of the body were attracted. Like the Baptist Missionary Society, when formed in 1792, its members were ignorant of the mode of organising foreign missions, weak in funds, and mistrustful of their own power. Hence, they deputed Mr. Judson to England, to endeavour to form an alliance with the London Missionary Society, upon the principle of mutual concert and co-operation. The directors of that Society received him with cordiality, and offered to take him and his associates on their own missionary establishment, but they wisely declined to share the management of their mission with a body dwelling across the Atlantic. But the American Board of Commissioners were unwilling to resign their missionaries to the patronage of another body, and thus admit the humiliating inference that they were unable to support a mission of their own. At the same time, they shrunk from the responsibility of embarking in a mission beyond seas, in a distant and unknown country,

and of guaranteeing the support of four families. It was, therefore, resolved that the Board do not recommend Mr. Judson and his associates to accept the offer of the London Society, but advise them to wait "the further intimations of Providence relative to their means of obtaining supplies." But Mr. Judson's ardent temperament was not satisfied with this mode of waiting on Providence, which is too often only a cover for indecision and pusillanimity. He had the promise of support from a well-organised association in England, and he appears to have expressed his dissatisfaction with the faint-heartedness of the Board in terms which excited their displeasure. But his point was carried. The next day he and his three companions were officially appointed missionaries to labour under the auspices of the Board in the Burmese Empire, or elsewhere. Mr. Judson embarked in the "Caravan" on the 19th of February, 1812, with the same feeling of exultation which animated Dr. Carey when he stepped on board the Danish vessel in the Channel about nineteen years before. He was accompanied by his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Newell, and a passage was engaged for his three other colleagues in another vessel, which sailed a few days after. He reached Calcutta on the 17th of June, and his appearance became the signal for another crusade against the missionary enterprise on the part of the Government of India.

The "gleam of sunshine," under the influence of which Mr. Chamberlain had been permitted to establish a mission at Agra, had now passed away, and for several months before Mr. Judson's arrival, as Mr. Ward stated to Mr. Fuller, "the sky had been lowering." It was rumoured that the animosity of the anti-missionary party in the Government had been sharpened by the assurance that the most strenuous efforts would be made at the approaching renewal of the Charter, to obtain a legal toleration for missionaries in India. The secretaries to Government appear to have exercised a predominant influence in the public counsels throughout the

Growing opposition of Government to Missions.

administration of Lord Minto, and the despotic constitution of the Government afforded ample scope for the indulgence of their hostility or caprice. Unlicensed Europeans were safe only as long as they were not denounced. The standing orders of the Court of Directors against the admission of interlopers into the country, rendered the expulsion of missionaries a simple and easy process. As the Court would grant no licenses, the missionaries were necessarily unlicensed, and it was only for some officious or malevolent functionary to report their arrival, to ensure "the enforcement of the standing orders,"—the official cant of the day for the act of deportation. Indications were not wanting of an unfavourable change in the humour of men in authority near the Council Chamber, on the subject of religion and missions. Mr. Thomason had preached a sermon at the beginning of the present year, which bore directly on missionary exertions, and the Secretary refused to permit its publication. Mr. Thompson, a missionary connected with the London Society, came round from Rangoon to Calcutta, on his way to Madras. The circumstance was discovered after he had sailed, and a peremptory order was sent to that Presidency to expel him on his arrival; which so deeply affected his mind that he was attacked by a disease which carried him off in a few days.

It was in these circumstances that Mr. Judson landed at Calcutta, with his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Newell. Though he was now within the dominions of a Christian power, his mission of Christian benevolence commenced under no smiling auspices. The day after his arrival he reported himself at the police office, and stated that he and his colleague, who had passports from the Government of Massachusetts, had been sent out by a missionary society in America, to establish a mission in some country to the east of Bengal. Mr. Martyn, the leading magistrate at Calcutta, now had missionaries again within his grasp, whom he could

Mr. Judson's arrival and difficulties.

unscrupulously worry under colour of performing a public duty. He immediately reported to Government that "two missionaries had arrived in the 'Caravan,' who pretended to be Americans by birth, though he suspected they were British subjects." He stated that "the missionary route to India had of late been *viâ* America, because this class of persons knew that they could not obtain leave to proceed hither direct in any of the Company's ships; and that, while the communication continued open between America and England, many missionaries might be expected, and they would all plead their being Americans; because the commanders of these vessels knew that, if they brought out unlicensed British subjects, they would be subjected to the expense of taking them back again;" which, "he presumed to iterate, was the only effectual mode of checking these immigrations." To this letter Mr. Dowdeswell, now Secretary to Government, replied, that the Governor-General in Council did not deem it advisable to allow the two missionaries to remain, and that they must prepare to return in the vessel which brought them; and that the commander should be refused a port clearance until he gave a satisfactory assurance that these orders would be complied with. Mr. Judson appealed directly to Government, stating that he and his associate did not intend to continue in Bengal, or in any part of the Company's dominions, but had touched at Calcutta on their way to the eastward; and that it was their intention to quit the country on the arrival of their brethren, then expected in the "Harmony." He solicited permission to continue in Calcutta, till the arrival of that vessel and the state of their families allowed them to embark. Mr. Dowdeswell replied that Government could not allow them to establish themselves in any part of the Company's territories, and that this order applied equally to the island of Java, which had recently been conquered, and to all other settlements to the eastward. If they could give satisfactory assurance of their intention to

proceed, without loss of time, to the territories of any other states than those of Great Britain and her allies, the Governor-General would consider the propriety of rescinding so much of the order as required that they should return to America by the "Caravan." Mr. Judson, anxious to escape from the seat of a government so hostile to missionary efforts, requested permission to proceed to the Isle of France, where he hoped to find a vessel bound to Rangoon, and pledged himself to leave Bengal with his brethren, then daily expected, as soon as circumstances would permit. To this request Lord Minto acceded, on condition that the missionaries should sign an engagement to pay their own expenses to the Mauritius.

The "Harmony" arrived on the 15th of August with Mr. Johns and Mr. Lawson for Serampore, Mr. May for Chinsurah, and the three colleagues of Mr. Judson. Mr. Martyn lost no time in reporting

Arrival of the
"Harmony" with
six other mis-
sionaries.

to Government the arrival of six missionaries, three of whom were British subjects. "Four of them," he said, "had their wives and children, a presumptive proof that they intended to take up their abode in the country. Their professed object was to preach; but as to whom they were to preach, or what description of congregation they were to preach to, they waited for information from the 'Officina Missionarum' at Serampore." On the receipt of this letter, the Governor-General immediately determined that the "standing orders" should be enforced, that the American missionaries who were not British subjects should be required to return by the vessel which had brought them, and that the usual restrictions should be laid on her. Mr. Judson's colleagues, Mr. Hall, Mr. Rice, and Mr. Nott presented a memorial to Government, soliciting permission to proceed to the Isle of France, and entreated that the embargo on the vessel might be taken off. With both these requests Government thought fit to comply. Mr. Newell, who had come out with Mr. Judson, embarked for the Isle of France;

but as there was accommodation only for one family, the others were obliged to wait for another vessel. On the 4th of November, Mr. Judson ventured to apply to Government for leave to proceed to Ceylon, as the Mauritius was not his ultimate destination. Three days after, Mr. Martyn reported that, up to that time, only one of the five missionaries had retired from the country. The Government did not deign to seek any explanation of the cause of their detention, but determined to pursue the severest measures against them. Mr. Judson's application was treated with silent contempt, and the Supreme Council directed a communication to be sent to Mr. Martyn, stating that the missionaries had forfeited all claim to the indulgence of Government, and that it was resolved to send them to England by the fleet then under despatch; that Government was not bound to incur any expense on their account; and that no larger sum would be allowed to the commander for their passage than 40*l.*, and that they should mess with the gunner. No notice was taken of their wives, and it was evidently a matter of perfect indifference to the government of India, whether they went in the gunner's mess with their husbands, or were left behind to starve. The vessels in which the missionaries were required to embark were then lying abreast of Sagor island, at the new anchorage, more than a hundred miles below Calcutta, and Mr. Martyn was directed to hire a sloop to convey them down the river, and not to forget to send them under charge of a police guard.

Armed with this authority, Mr. Martyn sent a police officer to the residence of the missionaries in Calcutta, and ordered them not to quit it without permission. At the same time, their names were inserted in the public papers, as "charter party" passengers, on the vessel in which they had been directed to embark. They felt that to proceed to England would be to break up their missionary enterprise altogether, more especially as a war between England and America

Mr. Martyn's
severity towards
the missionaries.

was then impending; they determined, therefore, to run every risk to avoid such a disaster. Mr. Judson heard of a vessel proceeding to the Isle of France, and having prevailed on the commander, to whom he related the position in which he stood, to connive at his embarkation with his wife and his associate, left Calcutta at midnight and went on board. But they could not evade the vigilance of Mr. Martyn, who was determined that they should not escape the ignominy of a passage to England in the gunner's mess. The police constables whom he had stationed to watch their movements, reported that they had gone on board the "Creole," and Mr. Martyn immediately wrote to Government to report the "contumacious conduct of the missionaries, who," he said, "had concealed themselves, or were concealed by others, and had thus defeated the orders of Government for their deportation to England." He stated that he was led to believe that they would "clandestinely attempt to get on board the 'Creole,' and that he had therefore procured an order to the pilot not to proceed with her to sea." The "Creole" was anchored off the hotel at Fort Gloucester, fifteen miles below Calcutta, when the order was delivered to the pilot, forbidding him to proceed down the river, as the commander was suspected of having persons on board who had been ordered to England. Mr. Judson and his companion immediately went on shore in a state of the deepest anxiety. A personal reference was made to Calcutta to procure, if possible, a reversal of the order, but without success. In the course of the evening, a letter arrived from the owner of the vessel, stating that he had called at the police office to inquire why his vessel was detained, and was informed that there were said to be persons on board whom the commander was not at liberty to receive. The pilot immediately furnished a certificate that there was no such party at the time on board, and the vessel was soon after permitted to proceed on her voyage. The two missionaries now proceeded farther

down the river to another hotel at Fulta, where they found a vessel anchored abreast of it, bound to Ceylon. They stated the circumstances of their case to the commander, but he refused to incur the risk of receiving those who were under the ban of Government. They returned in a disconsolate frame of mind to the inn, not knowing what course to pursue, but still feeling that the most dangerous would be that of returning to Calcutta, where they must at once fall into the hands of Mr. Martyn. But a letter was unexpectedly placed in their hands, containing permission to embark in the "Creole." They immediately hired a boat, and, rowing day and night, succeeded in overtaking that vessel below the new anchorage, just as the pilot was preparing to weigh anchor for the last time. The cause of their deliverance was subsequently revealed in the correspondence of Government. It appears that when Mr. Martyn reported that he had ordered the vessel in which Mr. Judson and his wife and colleague had embarked for the Mauritius to be detained, Lord Minto, remembering that he had previously given them permission to proceed to that island, did not deem it advisable to interrupt their progress. At any rate they would be out of the territories of the Honourable Company.

The two remaining missionaries, Mr. Hall and Mr. Nott, escaped to Bombay, and the circumstance was not reported to Government till after the vessel had left the river. The magistrate was requested to explain why he had allowed them to proceed to another Presidency, when orders had been issued for them to be sent to England. Mr. Martyn replied that the missionaries had continued to loiter in Calcutta, and as several attempts had been made to evade the orders of Government, he had directed the police officers to watch them, and report their movements; that from the time when the orders of Government had been made known to them, they had clandestinely withdrawn from their usual place of residence, and were so effectually

Two of the Missionaries escaped to Bombay.

secreted by those who espoused their interests, that they eluded all inquiry, and had at length taken their passage for Bombay without the privity of the police, and that this fact came to his knowledge too late to stop them. A letter was immediately sent from the Council Chamber to the Governor of Bombay, directing that the missionaries should be sent to Europe as soon as they landed. They reached the port on the 15th of February, 1813, and were immediately summoned to the police office, where the magistrate informed them that they had incurred the severe displeasure of Government, and were required to provide themselves with a passage to Europe by the first vessel. They expressed deep regret that their conduct should have made an impression on Government injurious to the character they wished to maintain, and affirmed with confidence that a full explanation of their proceedings would assuredly remove that impression. They stated that the war which had just broken out between Great Britain and the United States had cut them off from all their resources, and that it was completely out of their power to raise funds for a passage to England. The proceedings of the Government of Bombay in this case, will be given in a subsequent page.

Having thus chased the five American missionaries from the Presidency of Bengal, and, as it was hoped, from the continent of India, Lord Minto's Government proceeded to wreak its vengeance on the missionaries connected with the establishment at Serampore. It has been stated that Dr. Carey and his colleagues, encouraged by the friendly disposition of Government in 1810, advised Mr. Fuller to send out the missionaries who were ready to embark, assuring him that they would not be dealt with as Mr. Chater and Mr. Robinson had been treated in 1806. Mr. Fuller lost no time in sending Mr. Johns and Mr. Lawson to America, to take the first ship to India. They were detained in that country more than a twelvemonth, during which

Proceedings
against Mr. Law-
son and Mr.
Johns.

Mr. Johns revived the interest which had been created in the missionary labours of Serampore, and more especially in the translations, and succeeded in raising 800*l*. He and his companion then embarked for Calcutta, which they reached on the 15th of August. The hostility manifested in the case of Mr. Judson, two months before, convinced the Serampore missionaries that the old feeling against missions was again in the ascendant in the Council Chamber, and they felt no little alarm in reference to the brethren whom they themselves expected, for the mission had no longer the shelter of a foreign flag. The day after Mr. Judson had been ordered to quit the country, Dr. Marshman wrote to Mr. Edmonstone, the Chief Secretary to Government, stating that he and his colleagues had just heard that Mr. Lawson and Mr. Johns might be shortly expected in an American vessel, and they were anxious to obtain permission for them to remain in India till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known. Mr. Edmonstone was directed by Lord Minto to state that the Government of India did not possess the power of granting licenses to British subjects to reside in India, but would not object to the residence of the expected missionaries till a reference could be made to England. The Serampore missionaries now thought themselves safe. They expected that the question of the new charter^s would come under discussion when the reference arrived, and that the most strenuous efforts would be made by the religious public of England to obtain a legal settlement for missionaries. They were confident that, at such a crisis, the Court of Directors would feel little disposition to incur the odium of having actually ordered the expulsion of missionaries from the soil of India. Soon after the arrival of Mr. Johns, the medical officer of the settlement of Serampore was obliged to proceed to sea for the benefit of his health, and Mr. Johns was directed to officiate for him; he had thus the additional security of a Government appointment.

Mr. Robinson, as already stated, had determined, at the beginning of the year 1812, to proceed to the island of Java, and commence missionary operations. On the conquest of the island, Lord Minto had installed Mr. Raffles as Governor, and he immediately wrote to Dr. Marshman, to renew his request for missionaries to look after the interests of some 200,000 Christians, and "rescue the heathen from superstition." Dr. Marshman waited on Lord Minto, who had now returned from the island to the seat of Government, and on the strength of Mr. Raffles's letter, solicited permission for Mr. Robinson to proceed as a missionary to Java. Lord Minto desired that the application should be officially made, and Mr. Edmonstone replied to it, that the Government of India did not interfere in the affairs of Java, but as his Lordship was convinced that Mr. Robinson would conform to the local regulations, he could perceive no objection whatever to his proceeding thither. Mr. Robinson was detained several months for a vessel, and did not sail before the month of June. The vessel, however, proved unseaworthy, and the commander, after encountering a violent gale in the Bay, put back to Calcutta. But Mr. Robinson escaped the dangers of the sea only to fall into the jaws of danger on shore. No private vessel was laid on for Java for several months. One of the Honourable Company's ships was at length directed, at the close of the year, to visit the eastern islands, which had been conquered from the Dutch, but the commander could not receive any passenger without an express order from Government. Mr. Edmonstone had been raised to the Supreme Council, and Mr. Charles Milner Ricketts then filled the office of Secretary. On the 4th of January, 1813, Dr. Marshman, utterly unconscious of the storm which was then lowering, waited on Mr. Ricketts, and requested an order for Mr. Robinson to be received on board, which, after Lord Minto's assurance, he expected to receive without hesitation. Mr. Ricketts said he was happy to see him, as he was on

Mr. Robinson
embarks for Java,
but returns.

the point of writing to him for an account of Messrs. Johns, May, and Lawson, the three remaining missionaries, and the reason of their having come out by way of America; and he wished the statement to be sent to him in writing. As Dr. Marshman had now alluded to another missionary, Mr. Robinson, as being in the country, he wished that the report should include his case also. Dr. Marshman informed Mr. Ricketts in a semi-official letter, that Government had already given permission to two of these missionaries to remain in the country till the pleasure of the Court of Directors could be known, and to Mr. Robinson to proceed to Java, and that Mr. May was not connected with their missionary establishment. Mr. Ricketts acknowledged the receipt of the letter the same day, and stated that these facts were not sufficient to warrant their remaining in India, but he desired to know, before he proceeded to act, why these gentlemen had come out by way of America instead of coming direct from England, with the permission of the Court of Directors; he also required a brief notice of each individual. Dr. Marshman now began to suspect that Government had adopted the determination of expelling these missionaries likewise, and that Mr. Ricketts desired to draw from him a written acknowledgment that they were in India without a license, that he might *act* upon it. He determined, therefore, whether right or wrong must be left to the judgment of the candid, to stave off the written communication of the fatal fact that they were unlicensed, to the last practicable moment, in the hope that some path might open in the meantime to escape from the impending danger. He was not without a hope of being able to prolong the correspondence till some notice of the proceedings in England connected with the New Charter, might reach India, and induce Government to pause in this career of violence. Perhaps it is no violation of Christian charity to suppose that the same expectation may have created a desire in the minds of those members of Government who were un-

Dr. Marshman's
correspondence
with Mr. Ricketts.

favourable to missions, to precipitate their proceedings. It was well known that eight months previously, the Ministry had announced to the Court of Directors their determination to abrogate the traditionary policy of exclusion, and permit Europeans to settle in India. The announcement had shaken the India House to its foundation. The legal toleration thus to be given to secular persons could not of course be withheld from missionaries, and the present was the last occasion on which there would be any opportunity of expelling them from India. Dr. Marshman did not deem it advisable to place in the hands of Mr. Ricketts a document which would enable him at once to suggest that the "standing orders of the Court" should be enforced by their deportation, as being in India without the permission of the Court. He, therefore, confined his reply to the latter portion of the request, and furnished Mr. Ricketts with full details of the education, qualification, and families of the three missionaries. Mr. Ricketts wrote again on the 7th of January to say that Dr. Marshman's letter only supplied part of the requisite information, but the point still wanting was the circumstance which induced the missionaries respectively to come out by way of America. Dr. Marshman, knowing the delicate ground on which he was treading, still replied with great caution and reserve, and gave a variety of reasons for choosing the American route. Mr. Ricketts wrote back sharply to say that the information he still wanted was, whether the three missionaries then at Serampore did or did not apply to the Court of Directors for permission to come out to India—and that Dr. Marshman's silence on that point would be regarded as an admission that no such application had been made. To this letter Dr. Marshman replied the next day, that he had reason to believe that no such application was made. Here the semi-official correspondence terminated.

The object of the correspondence had now been attained. The fact had been extracted from Dr. Marshman, not

merely that they were in India unlicensed, but that they did not apply for a licence, because they knew it would be refused. These circumstances were of course fully known to the Secretary before he entered on this correspondence, but it was necessary to obtain a written statement of them. Dr. Marshman's last letter was now submitted to the Supreme Council, and in less than a week a communication was sent, in due official form, stating that, "in reference to the application which had been made in a private form, requesting the sanction of Government for Messrs. Lawson, Johns, and Robinson to remain in India, the Governor-General requested Dr. Marshman to call on those gentlemen to report whether or not they had applied to the Court of Directors for permission to resort to India; and if they did not apply, the cause of their not having done so." It is material to remark that the assertion made in this letter, that the movement of Government in the case of these missionaries arose out of an application for them to reside in India, was perfectly gratuitous, and must have been known to be such by the Secretary who drafted the letter. No such permission was sought, because two of the number had obtained liberty to remain in India six months before, and the other had already resided six years in India, and had permission from Government to leave it for Java. This act of interference was the spontaneous impulse of Government. To this letter Dr. Marshman sent in a reply, embodying all the information regarding the missionaries which he had given in his previous correspondence with Mr. Ricketts. He stated that his colleagues and he had reason to believe that no application was made to the Court; that this omission arose from no disrespect to that body, but from the idea that it was their general rule to grant express permission to reside in India to none except those employed in their service; and that the Baptist Missionary Society, not expecting that they would break through this rule for the sake of a few obscure individuals, forbore to

Close of the correspondence, and its object.

harass them by a fruitless application. At the same time, knowing that many individuals were permitted to reside in the country who had never obtained a licence from the Honourable Court, the Society sent Mr. Johns and Mr. Lawson out by way of America, hoping that, as long as their conduct was found to be correct, they would experience the same indulgence from Government which was extended to so many other Europeans in India. In an age of freedom like the present, the tone of this letter may appear in some degree deficient in manliness and dignity, but the reader must place himself in the position of the Serampore missionaries, and remember that they were absolutely at the mercy of a despotic and irresponsible Government, which was then in the mood of making their despotic power the instrument of oppression. He must bear in mind that, unless Government could be mollified, either the missionaries and their wives must proceed to England in the gunner's mess, or the funds of the mission must be wantonly saddled with a charge of 1500*l.* for a comfortable passage to England, and of a sum scarcely less in amount for sending them back again to India. But every attempt to propitiate Government proved fruitless.

Lord Minto appears to have been five weeks making up his mind as to the course he should pursue, and, unhappily for the credit of his administration, which was generally characterised by mildness and liberality, he allowed his own more generous feelings to be overborne by the coterie of secretaries, and on the 5th of March issued the order for the immediate expulsion of the three missionaries, making in all eight missionary evictions in nine months. They were ordered to embark on one of the vessels of the fleet which was timed to leave the port on the 1st of April. On the same day Mr. Ricketts sent an extract from the proceedings of the Governor-General in Council to the magistrates of Calcutta, desiring them to be careful to cause these gentlemen to embark for Europe at the period prescribed, and

Lord Minto determines to deport the three missionaries.

if necessary, to apply for "the warrant which the Governor-General was authorised to issue in cases of this nature;" in other words, to apprehend the missionaries, if necessary, and convey them on board under the charge of a police guard — an injunction which Mr. Martyn was not likely to neglect. As if to aggravate the harshness of this proceeding, this order, which was dated the 5th of March, was detained in the Secretary's office an entire week before it was issued. The fleet in which the three missionaries were ordered to embark consisted of two vessels, lying at the New Anchorage, in the open sea, a hundred miles below Calcutta. The south-west monsoon had set in, and the "Sagor boats," as they were termed, resembling the pilot boats in the English Channel, were often four or five days reaching it. A voyage to England at that season of the year often occupied five or six months, and a long period was required for the preparation of the outfit. It was in these circumstances that the communication was delayed for six weeks, leaving only a fortnight for all the arrangements of the voyage.

Mr. Martyn, however, lost no time. The day after he received the communication from the Secretary's office he sent a European police officer to summon the missionaries to his office in Calcutta. Dr. Marshman had taken advantage of the protracted discussions in the Supreme Council to hasten Mr. Robinson's embarkation for Java in a private vessel, and the pilot had left her at sea a day or two before the order for his deportation to England arrived at Serampore. Mr. Johns replied to the magistrate's summons that he was requested by the British Commissioner of Serampore not to quit his medical charge. Mr. Lawson, in company with Dr. Marshman, repaired to the Police Office in Calcutta on the 13th of March, when Mr. Martyn drew up the form of an engagement for his signature, by which he was to pledge himself positively to embark on one of the two vessels lying at Sagor. Dr. Marshman represented to

The missionaries
are summoned to
the Police Office.

him that it was scarcely twenty-four hours since they had been made acquainted with the orders of Government, that they were entirely ignorant of the accommodation the ships might afford, as nearly all the cabins had already been engaged, and that there had not been time to consider the arrangements necessary for the infant families of the missionaries. He stated, moreover, that it was their intention to memorialise Government for a mitigation of the order, and that any such application would be defeated by so positive an engagement as Mr. Lawson was required to sign. This representation served only to exasperate Mr. Martyn, who took up the paper and, having made the engagement more stringent, desired Mr. Lawson to affix his signature to it. Dr. Marshman stated that Mr. Lawson would not commit himself by any such document, though he was ready to sign a general engagement to conform to the ultimate wishes of Government, whatever they might be. "Then," said Mr. Martyn, "I shall commit him." "You will do as you like," replied Dr. Marshman, "but that paper he shall not sign." Mr. Martyn then made out an order for his committal; and he was placed in his palankeen and surrounded with a guard of native constables, under charge of a European sergeant, and conveyed to the Kuttra, where persons under detention were ordinarily locked up. Dr. Marshman accompanied him to the jail, and, having seen him deposited in a room with a native cot in it, on which he stretched himself very composedly for the night, proceeded at once to Mr. Ricketts's residence, and expostulated with him on the indignity which had been inflicted on Mr. Lawson, in being conducted like a felon through the streets of Calcutta. Mr. Ricketts at once perceived that the matter had been pushed too far, and instantly signed an order for his release. Dr. Marshman proceeded with it to the jail, and had the pleasure of conveying Mr. Lawson back that evening to Serampore. On the succeeding Tuesday he appeared again at the Police Office with Mr.

Mr. Lawson is placed in confinement.

Lawson. Mr. Martyn had been tamed down by the peremptory reversal of his order, and accepted, without hesitation, Mr. Lawson's general acknowledgment to conform to the wishes of Government.

It was necessary now to make the most strenuous efforts to obtain a modification of the decision of Government, and Dr. Marshman determined to adopt the course which had proved so successful in 1807, and solicit a private audience of Lord Minto at Barrackpore. Mr. Johns was the medical officer

Dr. Marshman solicited a private interview with Lord Minto, and is refused.

of the station of Serampore, in the service of Government, and acted under the orders of Mr. Forbes, the commissioner, who had assured him that he would exert all his influence to secure his continuance in India. Mr. Forbes was on terms of great intimacy with the leading members of Government, by whom he was held in high estimation; and Mr. Johns naturally placed the greatest reliance on his efforts, and repeatedly requested that his name might not be coupled with any application which was made on behalf of Mr. Lawson. Dr. Carey was equally sanguine of the success of the case in the hands of Mr. Forbes; and in writing to Mr. Fuller, before the result was known, said, "Mr. Forbes's application on Mr. Johns's account will be more successful than ours, and he is generously using all his influence for that purpose." On his return from the Police Office in Calcutta on Tuesday, Dr. Marshman crossed over to Barrackpore, and called on Captain Taylor, Lord Minto's secretary, and requested him to solicit a private audience, stating, at the same time, the object with which it was sought. Captain Taylor promised to communicate this request, and to report the result. Lord Minto had always taken a lively interest in Dr. Marshman's Chinese labours, and there appeared some faint hope of obtaining the indulgence of Government by dwelling on the value of Mr. Lawson's assistance in perfecting the Chinese fount. It is somewhat humiliating to reflect that the only argument which could be employed,

with any hope of success, to avert the expulsion of a missionary from India, was that his mechanical skill would be useful in an object of literary interest. But such was the position of affairs at that period, and the missionaries were constrained to bend to circumstances. In the evening Dr. Marshman drew up a letter to Captain Taylor on the subject, which was intended for Lord Minto's eye. It dwelt more particularly on the important services of Mr. Lawson in reference to the Chinese types, and was accompanied by several specimens of his delicate and tasteful workmanship. Dr. Marshman likewise stated that it was his most anxious desire, and that of his colleagues, to obtain leave for both the missionaries to remain in India till the arrival of a reply to the reference which had been made to the Court; but if this was considered too great an indulgence, they would limit their solicitations to the case of Mr. Lawson. The next day Captain Taylor informed Dr. Marshman that Lord Minto declined a personal interview; that he was fully aware of his object, but as the order for the return of the missionaries to England was an act of the Government, in compliance with the strict injunctions of the Court, any mitigation of it could only be made in Council; his lordship would therefore direct the present application to be brought forward at the Board. At a subsequent interview with Captain Taylor, when Dr. Marshman inquired the reason of his having been for the first time refused an interview, Captain Taylor said that Lord Minto appeared to be unwilling to encounter his arguments and his importunity, to which he was afraid he might have been constrained to yield before the close of the interview. Lord Minto, having taken his seat at the Council Board, found that he had left Dr. Marshman's letter at Barrackpore; but he said he was disposed to allow Mr. Lawson to remain and complete the Chinese fount. The subject was, therefore, postponed to the 26th, and, after the meeting of Council, Dr. Marshman called on Mr. Ricketts, anxiously inquiring the result, and was informed

that Mr. Lawson had been allowed to remain, but that Mr. Johns, whose medical services could be easily supplied, was peremptorily ordered to return to England by the fleet then under despatch. A passage was therefore engaged the next day for 5000 rupees, and Mr. Johns joined the vessel on the 1st of April. At this interview Mr. Ricketts enquired whether it was a fact that Mr. Robinson had proceeded to Java, and, on being assured that such was indeed the case, stated that he must then be sent back to England from thence, though it was only a twelvemonth since the Secretary had stated to Dr. Marshman that Government did not interfere in the affairs of that island. A letter was immediately despatched to Mr. Raffles, directing him to send Mr. Robinson to England with all speed. But Mr. Raffles had no sympathy with the anti-missionary feelings which pervaded the Calcutta Secretariat, and, instead of expelling Mr. Robinson, afforded him every facility for the prosecution of his labours.

This unprovoked and unjustifiable violence reflects great discredit on Lord Minto's government. It was in direct opposition to the instructions issued to him by the Court of Directors, after the previous persecution in 1807. It involved the odium of a direct breach of promise, and the jesuitical argument by which it was attempted to extenuate this conduct, only served to render it more objectionable. Mr. Adam, one of the secretaries to Government, endeavoured to exculpate Government from the opprobrium of having permitted Mr. Johns and Mr. Lawson to remain in India till the pleasure of the Court of Directors was known, and then ordered their expulsion before the decision could arrive from England. He writes, "that the permission granted to Mr. Johns was revoked, in consequence of its having subsequently come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council, that Mr. Johns purposely abstained from applying for leave to come out to India, because he was aware that it would not be granted to him. His coming out under such circumstances must

be considered as tantamount to proceeding against the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors; and consequently the permission obtained under a concealment of facts, the knowledge of which by Government would have prevented its being granted, can no longer be in force, and it is accordingly revoked." But the vindication of Dr. Marshman's memory from the charge of having obtained the promise of Government by a disreputable suppression of the truth is easy. There was no concealment of any fact which Dr. Marshman was required, even by the nicest sense of honour, to communicate to Government. The permission which he sought, for the missionaries to remain in India till the pleasure of the Court could be known, carried with it the fullest acknowledgment that they had come out without a licence. Government had nothing to do with the reason why Europeans had proceeded to India without permission. It was self-evident that they would have applied for permission, if there had been any chance of obtaining it. The simple duty of the Government of India was, to ascertain whether Europeans could produce the authority of the Court for being found in their territories, and to enforce the standing orders if they could not. On no previous occasion had Government ever enquired the cause of their not having applied for a licence. The object of Mr. Ricketts's enquiry, why the missionaries had come out by way of America,—an enquiry without precedent,—was now revealed. Government found itself fettered by the permission which had been already granted to the missionaries to remain, and was anxious to discover some plausible pretext for revoking it. That pretext was found in the sophism, that they had come to India circuitously, because they knew the licence would be refused if it had been solicited; and this was said to be equivalent to "proceeding against the orders of the Court." But those orders forbade every man to resort to India without their permission, and they were equally violated if he came out without a licence in an English

or in a foreign vessel. To charge Dr. Marshman therefore with having obtained an indulgence for his friends by a concealment of facts, which had never before been made the subject of enquiry, and which Government never expected any European to state, was to add insult to injury. The slightest examination of the case, apart from the passions of the day, will at once dispel the charge, and at the same time furnish us with another illustration of that economy of truth, and that contempt for argument which appears to be so often associated with the enjoyment of absolute power.

This correspondence with Government, of which copies were sent to the Society by Mr. Johns, led to the only misunderstanding between Mr. Fuller and Dr. Marshman which occurred during their long and cordial intercourse. It appears that the Assistant-Secretary of the London Missionary Society informed Mr. Fuller that he had heard, at the India House, of a paragraph in the official communication from Calcutta, which strongly reflected on the conduct of the Serampore missionaries, and charged them with eluding the orders of Government. Moreover, one Dr. Macaulay had heard a clergyman in Calcutta say, that the missionaries had not conducted themselves as they ought, and that he was not surprised at Government taking such a step. That clergyman was the Rev. Dr. Ward, who had endeavoured to crush the Benevolent Institution, and the value of his opinion in such a case it is easy to estimate. Mr. Fuller was thus led to adopt the conclusion that the charge of eluding the orders of Government had reference to the hesitation evinced by Dr. Marshman, to give a direct answer to the enquiry of Mr. Ricketts, why the missionaries had come out without a licence. It was under the influence of this impression, deepened by the sinister representations of those who hated Dr. Marshman, that he was led to remark "that Dr. Marshman's private letters to Mr. Ricketts must have given great offence to Government; that if they had felt favourably disposed to

aid the missionaries, yet they must have felt indignant at this, and if unfavourable, still more so. Brother Marshman should at once, when the question was put, have avowed the whole truth. He suspected Government of sorry policy, and set himself to counteract it by concealment, or, at least, by withholding the whole truth. Here lay the offence. You could not tell their reason for these enquiries. By their forbearance to Mr. May, it does not appear that they meant any evil. But whatever their motives, I conceive no artifice or concealment should have been resorted to." These remarks exhibit little of Mr. Fuller's usual discernment. Government had just banished five missionaries from India under circumstances of unprecedented severity. They had determined to take the preliminary steps for the deportation of another inoffensive individual, who had been quietly residing in the country for seven years as a missionary, while hundreds in the same unlicensed predicament with him, but engaged in secular occupations, were left without molestation. To imagine in these circumstances as Mr. Fuller did, that Government "meant no harm to the missionaries by their forbearance towards Mr. May," is altogether preposterous. Mr. May was permitted to remain as the minister to a European congregation, as the records at the India House testify, and not as a missionary. Dr. Marshman, in his letter to England on these proceedings, said: "Thinking that the Secretary might wish to draw me into a confession of our brethren's having violated the laws, by coming out against the Company's order, I described the persons but omitted saying anything on the other head." On this Mr. Fuller remarks, "Here lay the offence." It appears almost incredible that Mr. Fuller could have supposed that the Government of India, which had not ventured to banish Europeans from India on more than two occasions in the previous twenty years, and then only on strong political grounds, should determine to adopt this extreme measure in the case of three individuals, simply

because Dr. Marshman had replied to one portion of the Secretary's letter, and passed over the remainder in silence. Every communication sent by him to the Secretary, was seen and approved by both Dr. Carey and Mr. Ward, and, although they at first wished the fullest information to be given at once, they yielded to Dr. Marshman's argument for postponing it to the latest moment. It was the determination to banish the missionaries which led to the correspondence, not the correspondence which occasioned the order of banishment. There was no artifice in the correspondence. The Secretary had informed Dr. Marshman that he desired to know why the missionaries had come out by way of America in order that he might *act* upon it, and Dr. Marshman hesitated to furnish him with a document which would be immediately turned against him and his cause. He was in fact required to criminate himself and his brethren, and he temporised as long as possible. Neither was there any "concealment" of the fact that the missionaries were without a licence, which was all that the Act of Parliament empowered the Government to enquire. Whether there was any charge of concealment alleged against the missionaries in the despatch which announced these proceedings to the Court, cannot now be known, for that document has strangely disappeared from the records of Government, both in Leadenhall Street and in Calcutta, and every effort to discover it has proved unavailing. If the word was used, it had no reference to this "private service" correspondence, but to the permission sought in June for Mr. Lawson and Mr. Johns to remain in India till the pleasure of the Court could be known, and which was readily granted, and then revoked, on the contemptible quibble that Dr. Marshman had withheld the fact that the Court of Directors had not been asked for a licence, because it was known that they would refuse it!

In reply to Mr. Fuller's remarks, Dr. Carey observed that the correspondence was for a time only private; that it was considered an officious interference; intended to draw

out an admission which might afterwards be turned against the mission, and that this conviction made Dr. Marshman cautious, though at the time he and Mr. Ward wished him to be explicit. He remarked that they were placed between Scylla and Charybdis, and that it was difficult to know how to act. To this Mr. Fuller rejoined in the last letter but one which he wrote to Serampore before his death. "As to the correspondence with Mr. Ricketts, in remarking on which you consider me just but not merciful, having expressed my thoughts, I thought no more on the subject, and I hope brother Marshman was not greatly wounded. I feel my deficiency in not being able always to express my sentiments so as not to 'break the head.' I hope I need not say I love you all, and hope to live and die with you."

In writing to Mr. Fuller regarding these troubles, Mr. Ward said he suspected the "Court of Directors had resolved to have a victim or two, to be hung up *in terrorem* as an example, lest the country should be inundated with missionaries." Dr. Carey remarked that their necks had been more or less under the yoke ever since the year of the pamphlets, and that the preaching of the Gospel stood in much the same political light as committing an act of felony. He said he had endeavoured to acquit the Government of religious persecution, but was sorry to say that his mind would not do it, though Lord Minto had no dislike to them, and was a friend to liberty, and a man of the mildest manners, and not a persecutor. He then described the feelings and conduct of the secretaries, on whom the whole blame of these transactions rests, in language of the greatest severity. "The Charter," he says, "allows the Company to send all interlopers to Europe. The Company have been clamorous since 1807 in requiring all Europeans to be sent out of the country. Men in office insensibly come to feel the claims and requisitions of the Company as their own, and identify themselves with their personal feelings. A secretary can prepare such a

case and present it, that Government must notice it, and all this without personal dislike to those who are sufferers by it. I never heard before of a man of liberal education, and scientific inclinations, and inoffensive conduct, being sent to Europe unless he had meddled with politics, or in some other way made himself troublesome to Government, and in no instance of a man's being ordered home after seven years' peaceable residence in it. The fault lies in the clause which gives the Company power thus to send home interlopers, and is just as reasonable as one which should forbid all the people in England, a select few excepted, to look at the moon. I hope this clause will be modified or expunged in the new charter. The prohibition is wrong, and nothing that is morally wrong can be politically right. I find no fault with our Governor. . . . You must not attempt to send out any more missionaries without leave from the Court of Directors, for they will certainly be sent home." Dr. Carey also stated that Mr. Colebrooke, who had recently quitted the Council after his term of five years, had observed to him that men of scientific acquirements like Mr. Johns were the very men who ought to remain, and that though the orders of the Court were very peremptory, yet Government was never driven to such a point as to be unable to exercise its discretion, or refer a matter of this kind to England.

This last and most greivous persecution was, therefore, without the shadow of an excuse. The proceedings of 1807 admitted, at least, of this plausible extenuation, that they were connected with the issue of tracts and publications which were considered inflammatory, and likely to endanger the security of Government. But even the palliation of a panic was wanting in the present case. It could not be said that any of the missionaries, whom it was the pleasure of Government to hunt out of the country, were chargeable with any delinquency, real or imaginary. Their only crime was that of being missionaries in India without a licence, which it was known

that the authorities at the India House would not grant under any consideration. The excuse was, that the orders of the Court of Directors regarding the expulsion of unlicensed Europeans had become more peremptory within the preceding five years. For this statement there is not the smallest foundation. After the most careful examination of the records at the India House, no such orders can be found. These proceedings have inflicted an indelible stigma on the Government of India; but it is an act of justice to the Court of Directors to state that they are in no measure responsible for them. The Court opposed the introduction of missionaries, because they were of opinion that religious excitement would endanger the empire, but they were equally averse to the adoption of any harsh measures against them, or against any of their fellow-countrymen in India. Their conduct has always been milder and more generous than that which the Act of Parliament enforced on them. If their injunctions in 1808 regarding the mode in which the missionaries were to be dealt with had not been totally disregarded, this wanton and outrageous procedure would not have been resorted to. It was the "wisdom" of Parliament which invested the Government of India with despotic authority to treat interlopers as felons. The Act was not enforced against hundreds of our fellow countrymen who were residing in India without a licence. But the secretaries to Government in the days of Lord Minto were virulently opposed to all missionary exertions, and they were enabled to indulge their own feelings under the shelter of the "standing orders" of the Court, and the provisions of an Act of the Imperial Parliament. Dr. Carey remarks, in his correspondence, that during the eight months which elapsed between the embarkation of Mr. Johns and Lord Minto's own departure to England, he always appeared anxious to avoid any allusion to this unpleasant subject. On the first occasion, when Dr. Marshman met him after these proceedings, and alluded to the injury which had been thereby inflicted on the mis-

sionaries, Lord Minto endeavoured to excuse himself by throwing the entire blame on the peremptory orders of the Court of Directors, and then hastened to turn the subject. But the orders of the Court were not more stringent in 1812 than they had been during the twenty years preceding it. The conduct of Government in Calcutta on this occasion was therefore without precedent, without necessity, and without justification.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME. ,

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